Editor's Copy

The Ryedale Historian

No.13 1986

– Spaunton Manor site

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Cover photo: Spaunton Manor site from the air (cf. R.H. Hayes' 'Excavations at Spaunton Manor'). Aerial photograph copyright by A.L. Pacitto. Site viewed from the north, evening, October 1966.

EDITORIAL

No sign of adverse fortune with this thirteenth number, we are pleased to report. Indeed, we can record our grateful thanks to the North York Moors National Park for an increased grant towards publication costs, and there is a good chance that the Council for British Archaeology, which contributed towards the cost of an article in the last number, will do so again this time. We are much obliged to both bodies, and hope that the results will speak for themselves in the quality of the contents.

A publication which appears only once in two years is not the ideal vehicle for a discussion by correspondence. Nevertheless it is encouraging that the article on Ryedale Quakers in No. 12 should have stirred Mrs. Webster to contribute further information; and we consider it appropriate to print a letter from an old friend, and stalwart of the Scarborough Archaeological Society, Frank Rimington, querying the Drummond-Spratt interpretation of the Cockmoor Dykes (also in No. 12), together with Dr. Spratt's answer.

Our other contributors are old friends for the most part. Stuart Harrison, author ot the stimulating and important paper on Byland Abbey in this issue, was part-author and cartographer in a previous item on that abbey which appeared in No. 9. Such has been the pressure on space that Bert Frank's family history had had to be cut short in the sixteenth century. It will be concluded in our next issue.

John McDonnell

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor:

I was intrigued, though not entirely convinced, by the suggestion of Messrs. Drummond and Spratt (Ryedale Historian, no. 12) that the Cockmoor dykes were in part the remains of a rabbit warren.

I think the origin of these corrugations is vegetable rather than animal. Both J. Tuke's Agriculture of the North Riding (1800) and H.E. Strickland's Agriculture of the East Riding (1812) stress the point that the potato had become the main food of the 'lower orders', and as a result the growing of that crop was a major industry in Holderness and elsewhere in Yorkshire. In order to avoid the dread disease they called 'curl' (the even worse 'blight' was not to arrive in Europe till 1840), it was necessary to use seed grown on high ground. Some farmers were said to obtain their seed from Scotland, but many preferred that grown on the North York Moors.

Probably an eighteenth century farmer at Cockmoor Hall decided to try his hand at growing seed potatoes using the 'lazy-bed' method, in which the soil is removed from a strip of ground either by hand or plough and laid on the adjacent strip, the seed going in between. This doubled the depth of topsoil and vastly improved the drainage. After a few years the soil would become exhausted and the land was allowed to revert to grass.

F.C. Rimington, Burniston.

Dr. Spratt comments:

We were delighted to read Frank Rimington's letter to the Ryedale Historian. It contains just the sort of constructive suggestion we hoped for when we wrote our controversial article for Issue No.12.

To start with, we all seem agreed that the fourteen small dykes at Cockmoor are a later addition to the six large prehistoric ones. The question is why the small dykes were built, and when. We, like Mr. Rimington, are not entirely convinced about the rabbit warren theory, but we feel that there could be a connection. Undoubtedly the warreners did use the dykes for various purposes. There is, for example, a turf wall, similar to those used for warren boundaries, the whole length of the Snainton Dykes, about one mile north-west of Cockmoor. And Robert Knox (Descriptions Geological, Topological and Antiquarian in Eastern Yorkshire (1855), p. 115) commented on the defacement of the dykes by warreners in the Scamridge area. Cockmoor Dykes had a rabbit type built in the southern barrow, and were of course the eastern boundary of the main warrening terrain.

The source of our doubts is the fact that such a formation has never been reported elsewhere in Britain; but this problem arises with any explanation which may be proposed, including the 'lazy-bed' theory. We do however regard this latter as a useful suggestion, well worth following up with the experts in eighteenth and nineteenth century agriculture, in time for a more considered reply, perhaps in the columns of your next issue.

As we think further about the problem, it may emerge that we are not dealing with one single cause for the building of the small dykes. A study of the vegetation on the dykes suggests that the large dykes were tree-covered in the past two hundred years (though earlier than 1853, to judge from the first edition of the OS map), whereas the small dykes were not. This could support a number of different interpretations, including the 'lazy-bed' theory.

We are at present compiling a survey of all the dykes on the Tabular Hills, which we hope to publish in 1987. This will raise a number of issues, of which the Cockmoor problem is the most difficult.

D.A. Spratt.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPAUNTON MANOR, NORTH YORKSHIRE

by

R.H. Hayes

Situated on the north edge of the limestone escarpment of the Tabular Hills, SE 724899, at 167 metres (550 ft.), surrounded by a small hamlet, Spaunton Manor House Farm is a group of buildings on the north side of the street (Cover photo: Fig.1). Messuage Farm adjoins the manor site on the west. About 1980, Manor House Farm became flats, and the Grange Farm at Bank Top was earlier entirely rebuilt. The reservoir close to the manor site was built in 1890. Before that date there was no regular water supply apart from cisterns, wells and ponds. A large pond in the centre of the hamlet was filled in recently; those behind the manor may originally have been fishponds. Oldfield Pond was almost dry in 1975-6. The dove-cote behind the manor farm is possibly 17-18th century; the outbuildings vary in date but were much renovated after a bomber crashed on them in 1944. The farm-house is a double-pile structure of little architectural interest, possibly built in the late 17th or early 18th century after the former hall fell into ruin or was demolished (1).

The Enclosure (Cover photo: Fig.2)

This is still visible on the ground at the north-west corner, though complicated by a bank branching north-east. The area enclosed is about 92 metres across, east-west, and possibly bounded by the village street on the south. It has a single outer ditch except at the north-west corner, where the branch runs north-east towards one of the ponds. There was evidence of a drystone wall under the bank, but only in Trench 1 (Fig.3) was a portion surviving. The ditch was sectioned 80 ft. from the north-west corner and 50 ft. south-east of the walls of Messuage Farm. It proved to be V-shaped with a regular channel in the base, 3.9 m. wide by 1.82 m. deep (13 by 6 ft.). A dark grey primary silt was sealed by a secondary silt, very sandy, with tumbled stones. Only one potsherd was found, in the lower silt: a very eroded body sherd, buff to brown, pitted interior, full of sparkling grit almost like granular sugar. Mrs. Le Patourel thought it possibly Saxon, though unlike any she had seen. A similar fragment was found on a Roman site near Sinnington Manor (2). In the upper layers was the rim of a jug (Fig.9, no. 32) with part of a thumbed base. Under the footings of the stone wall, 2 feet from the edge of the ditch, were some flint chippings and a piece of green-glaze ware.

Trench 2 was taken through the north-west outer ditch 5.3 m. from the kiln to the east. The ditch was U-shaped, 2.8m. wide and 1.5m. deep. Among the 25 sherds found were No. 39 (Fig.9) - a large jug with a strap handle and thumbed base - and a rilled sherd from a spouted

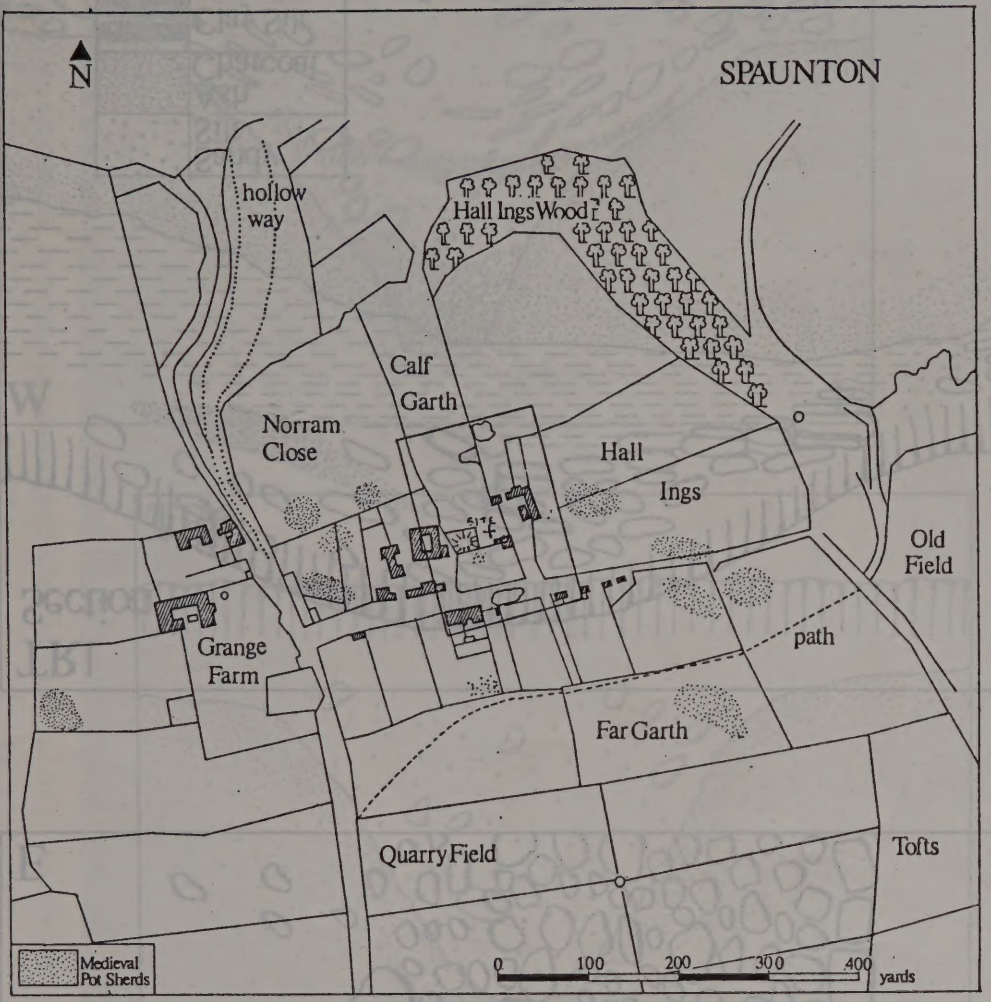

N
SPAUNTON
hollow way
Hall Ings Wood
Calf Garth
Norram Close
Hall Ings
Old Field
Grange Farm
path
Far Garth
Quarry Field
Tofts
Medieval Pot Sherds
0 100 200 300 400 yards

Fig. 1:

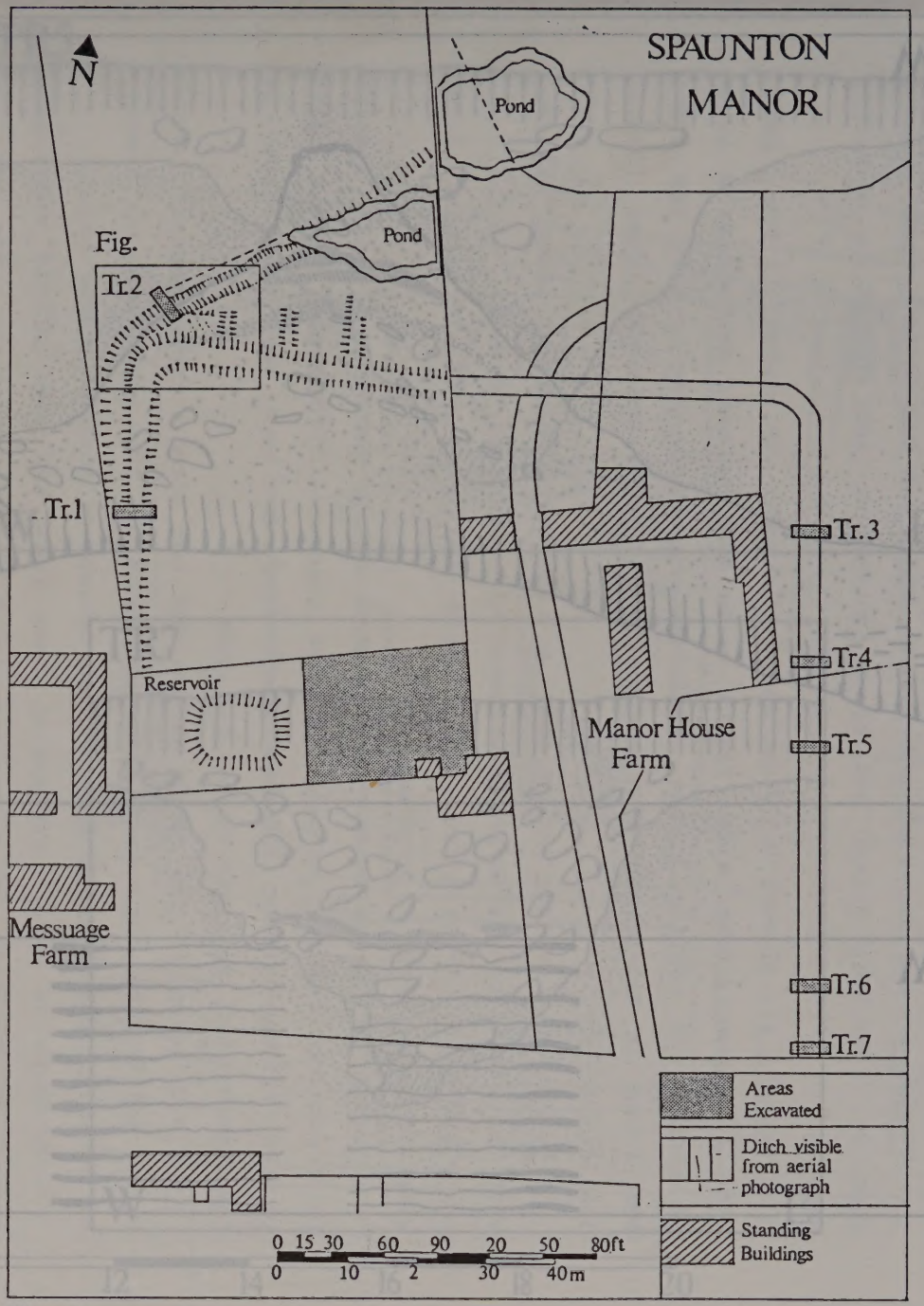
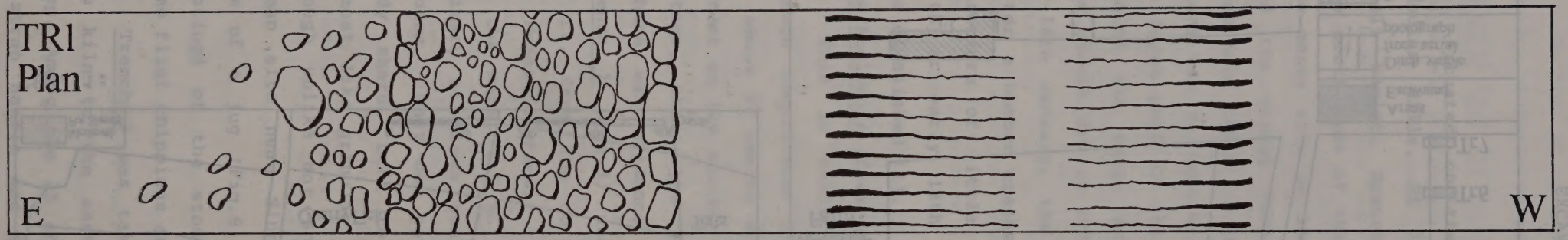

N
SPAUNTON MANOR
Pond
Pond
Fig.
Tr.2
Tr.1
Tr.3
Tr.4
Tr.5
Tr.6
Tr.7
Reservoir
Manor House Farm
Messuage Farm
Areas Excavated
Ditch visible from aerial photograph
Standing Buildings
0 15 30 60 90 20 50 80ft
0 10 2 30 40m

Fig.2:

Fig.3: Trenches (1)



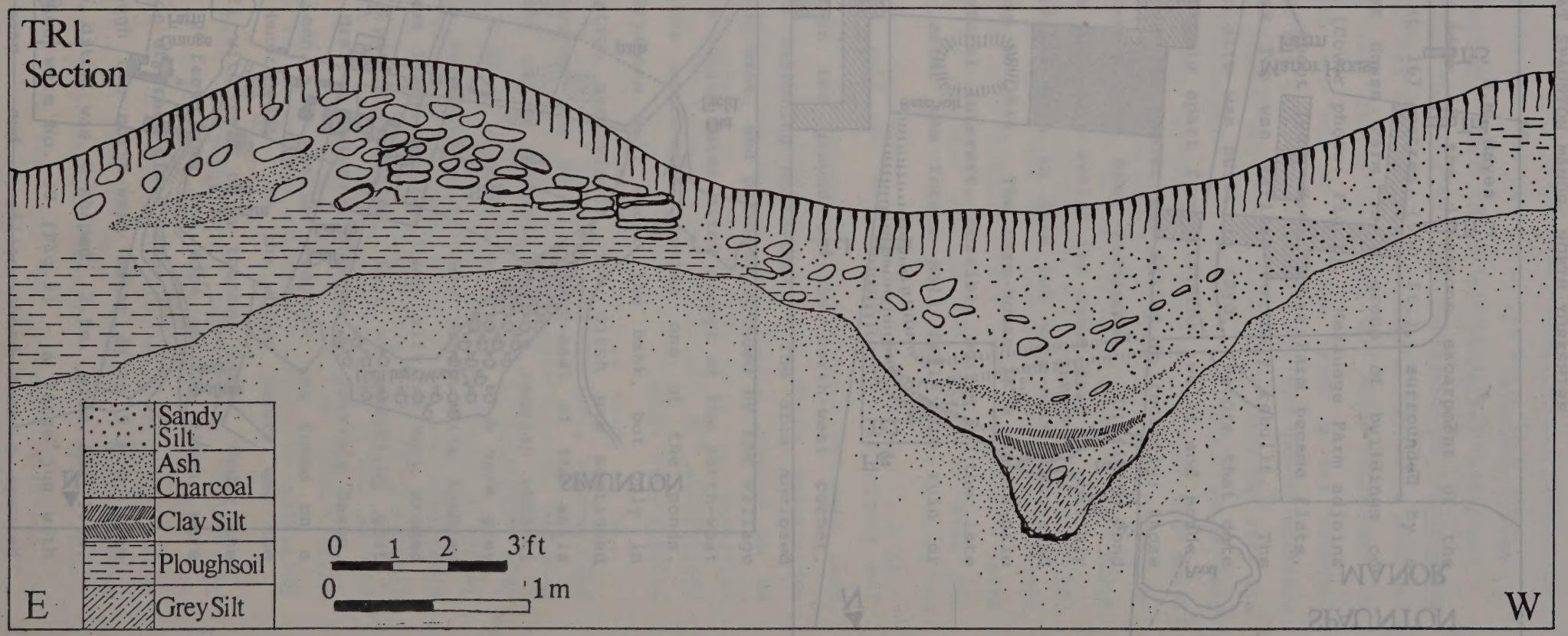
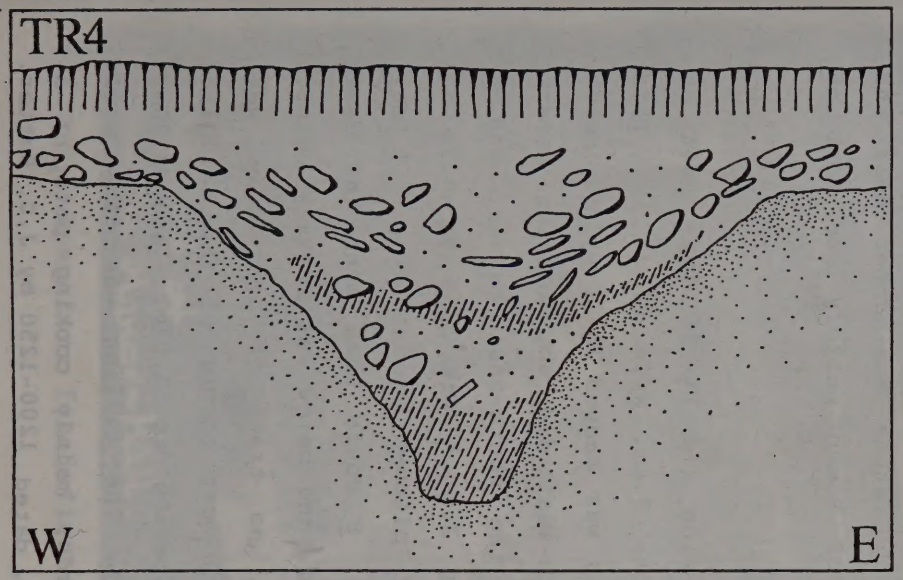
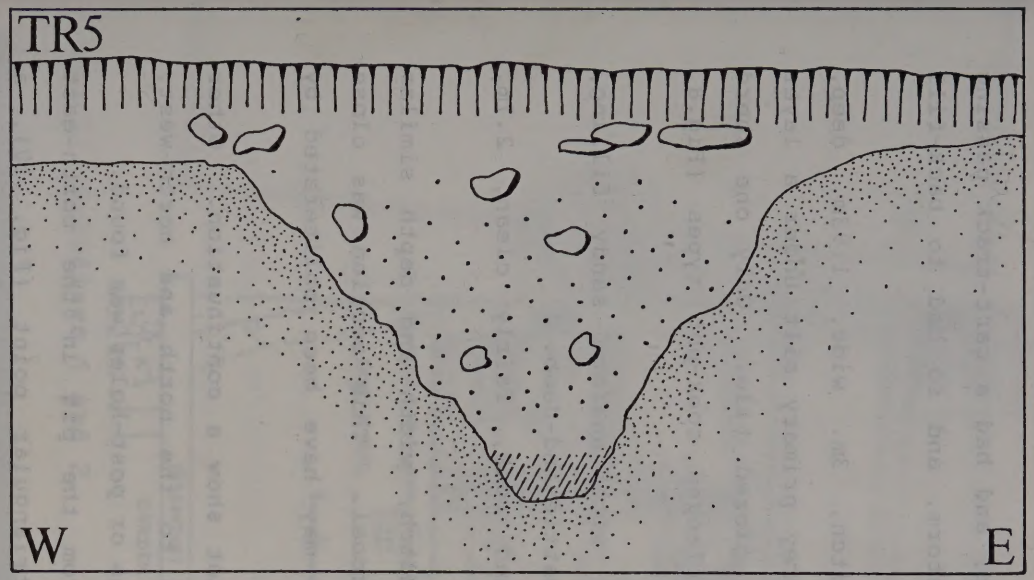
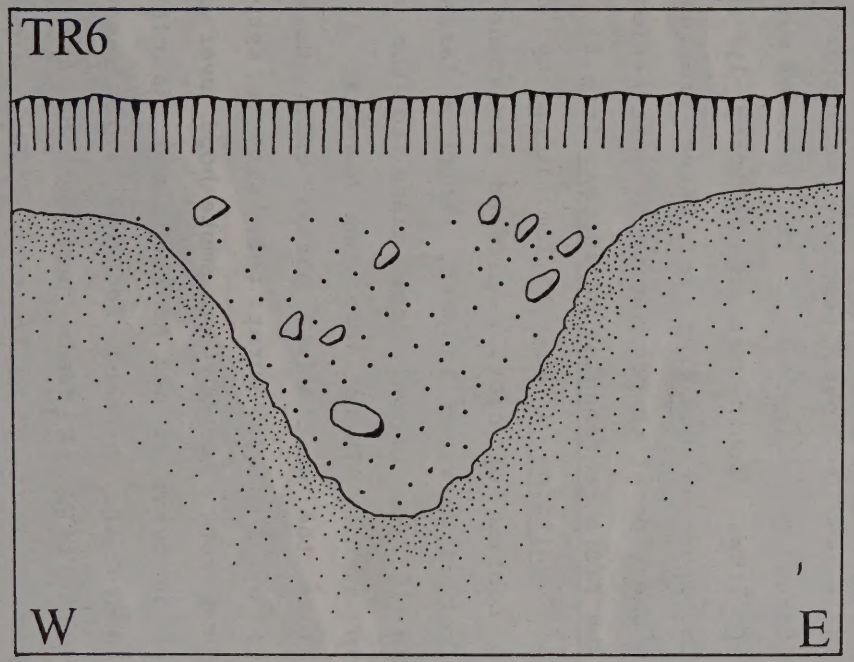
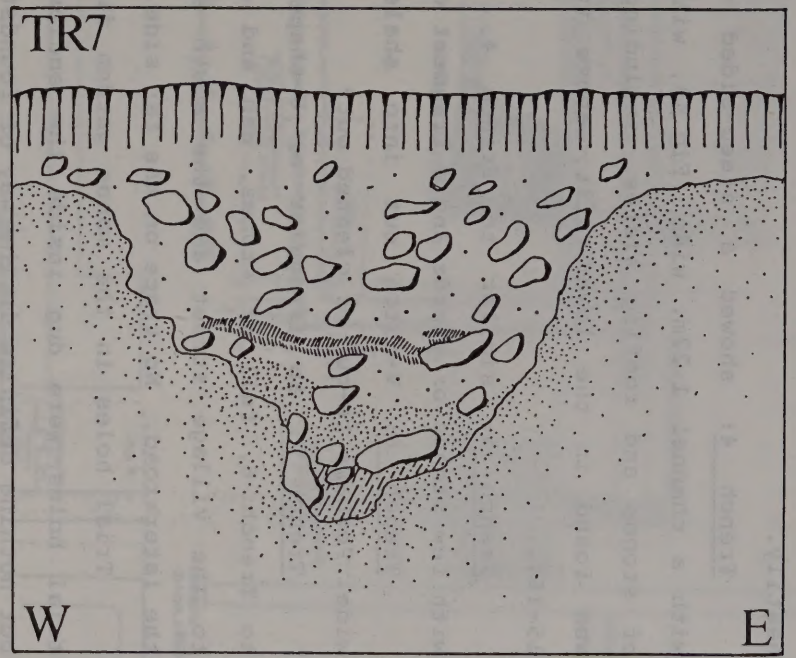


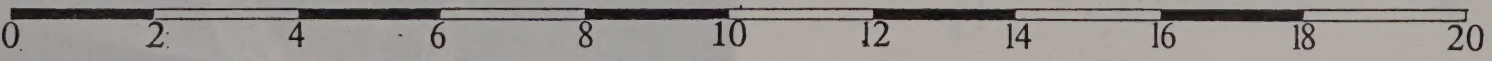
Fig.4: Trenches (2)











jug, both of the 14th century. Bones of pig and cow were found with the pottery.

Trench 3: was 3m. wide and 1.53m. deep, and had a cart-track passing over it. We were driven out by a snow-storm, and so had to back-fill hastily.

Trench 4: showed a steep-sided V-ditch, 3m. wide, 1.93m. deep, with a channel 1.22m. wide (Fig.4), with grey primary silt under a layer of stones and roofing slates, including a glazed tile. Only one sherd was found in the lower silt, above two flanged cook-pot types (Fig.8, 15-16).

Trench 5: similar to Trench 4, but with uniform sandy filling, with few stones or sherds and a fragment of wattle-and-daub.

Trench 6: V-ditch cut into shale and rock, fairly clean, 2.7m. wide. Perhaps re-cut or cleaned out?

Trench 7: an irregular or U-shaped ditch, width and depth similar to Trench 6, full of stones, ash and charcoal. This section was close to the village street and the south side may have been obliterated by the later road. No trace on the far side.

Trial holes in the manor garden did not show a continuation. Other trial holes were dug inside the enclosure to the north and north-west, but nothing definite in the way of foundations or post-holes was found.

Evidence of early occupation came from the pit in the north-east corner of Building 1: a scalene flint triangular point (Fig. 10), a knife and scraper, possibly neolithic or Bronze Age, and several flint flakes or chippings. The grooved-ware sherds were found at a depth of 1.5m., south-west of Building 1, and the stone axe-hammer near the footings of Building 1a. Three fragments of Roman pottery and part of a quern point to occupation of that period.

The first rectangular buildings. (Fig.5)

Building 1 was 15.22m. long by 7m. wide (50 by 25 ft.), set on a footing of heavily pitched limestone slabs 0.6m. wide (2 ft.). This footing survived in part, though a large gap was caused by a pylon trench in 1950. In only one place to the south-west did any walling remain in situ. There were two hearths: A at the south-east corner, and B along the west wall, partly under Building 2. A was 1.53 by 0.91 m. (5 by 3 ft.), burnt red, with a kerb of pitched sandstones. It may have had a canopy or smoke-hood over it. B could have been the base of an oven; it had no kerb, and the clay or sand below was heavily burnt. Where the pitched footings were removed, no trace of post-holes was found (4). A drain just outside the north-west corner of the building had a roughly built arch 1.22m. wide tapering to 1.07m., and 0.76m. high. The stones were clean and unburnt. The filling was dark soil and ash, in which lay a group of potsherds, mainly cooking pots of a type found in the district (Fig.8, nos.17-21), dated 1200-1250 by J.G. Rutter.

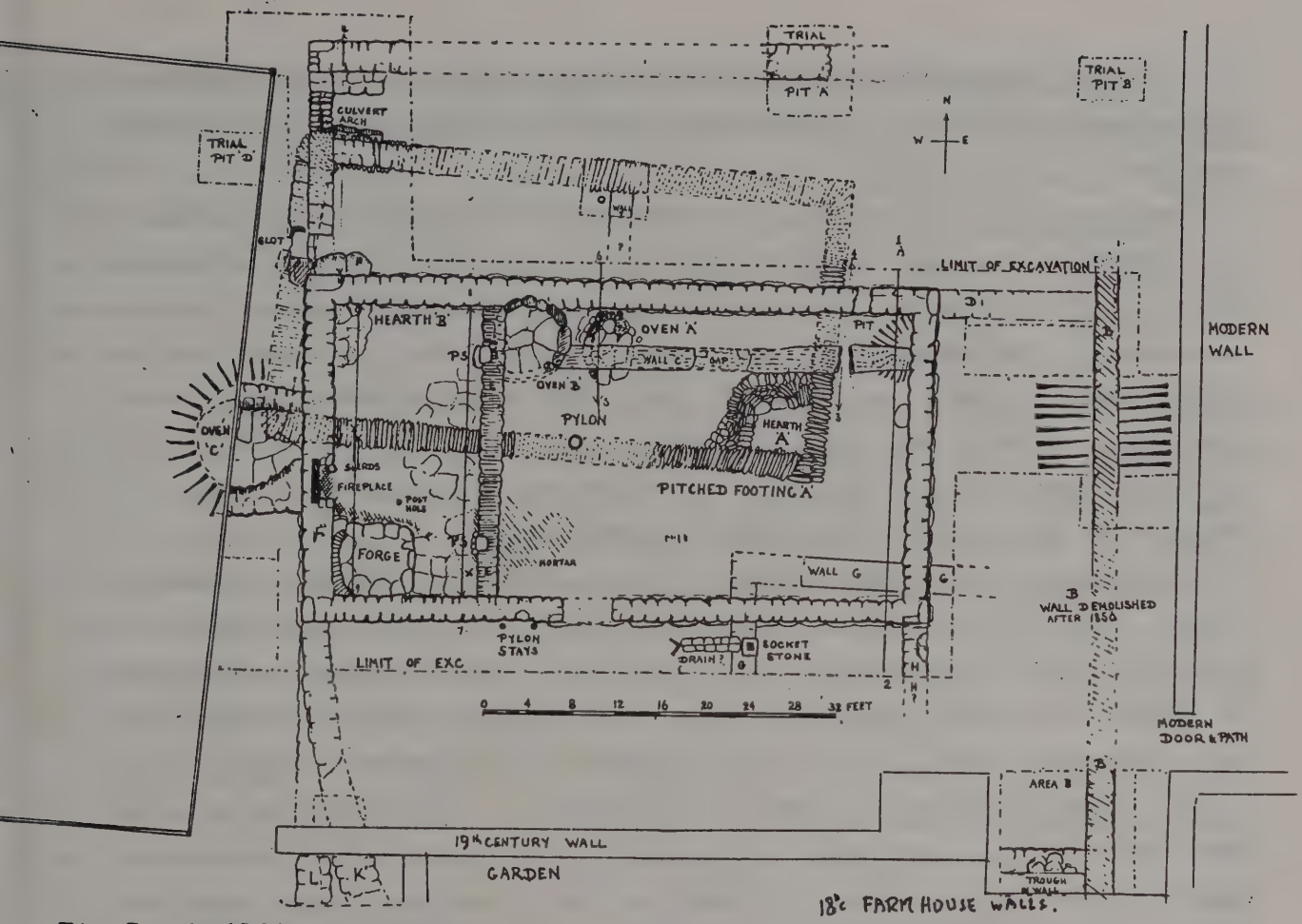


Fig.5: Buildings 1 and 2.

Plate 1: Spaunton: foundation of Building 2

A trial trench was dug inside the reservoir railings by permission of the water-bailiff, Mr. T. Richardson, but no further walling or footings were found.

Building 1a. A corner of another building on the same alignment was exposed to the south-east of Building 1. Only part of its north-west angle (Fig. 5) could be uncovered owing to the proximity of the present farmhouse. One socket-stone was exposed, which held a timber upright 0.2m. square. There was a sandy clay floor 0.91 m. below the present turf line, on which was part of a large jar with a frilled collar (Fig. 8, no.5), and part of an early 13th century stone basin or piscina. The rest of this building lies under the modern house.

Building 2 overlies Building 1 on a slightly different alignment. It was 15.28 m. by 9.13 m. (50 by 30 ft.). The walls survived to a height of 0.75 m. generally, but 1.34 m. at the north-west angle, with 18 courses of bonded limestone. 4 m. from the west end of the building was a partition wall ('E'), with post-slots for wooden uprights about 0.3 m. thick, resting on base stones (Fig.6). No corresponding slots were found in the west wall. Outside the west wall was a substantial hearth or oven ('Oven C'). A forge had been inserted in the south-west corner (charters give evidence of iron-working). Slag was lying on the mortar and lime floor, and over a metre of tumbled roofing slates lay at the north-west end. In the occupation level were a few pieces of green-glazed ware and a Staxton-type cook-pot (Fig.9 no.27). Near the post-slots of the partition were pieces of a handled beaker in red ware (Fig. 9 no.27), with fragments of a distorted vessel close by: a jetton also came from this area (cf. Appendix B2). A 14th-15th century date would fit these finds.

Oven C was on the west side of the outer wall, though partly under the reservoir railings. It measured 2.7 m. by 2.3 m. (9 by 7 ft.) in diameter. It was connected to the internal fireplace by a flue, and in the tumble was a piece of sheet lead 40 cm. by .17 cm., with holes 5 mm. square.

A rather poor late wall ('C') inside the north wall of Building 2 created a corridor 1.17 m. wide. The wall itself was 0.6m. thick; 1.52 m. from its eastern end was a V-shaped drain bridged with thin slabs of limestone. 3 m. from the western end of this same partition wall, and underneath it, was a circular hearth which had held a domed oven ('A'), 1.36 m. diameter. It had been replaced by Oven 'B' on a higher level, recessed into the wall of the forge room to the west; this oven was larger, 1.65 m. in diameter. Its flagged base was heavily burnt, and slight remains of its outer wall survived. Ovens of this type were used from Roman times onwards, and examples have been found

at Helmsley Castle and in the medieval house excavated at Riseborough (5).

Wall C was entirely removed during excavation. It rested on tumbled stones and slates, over a thick layer of ash (Fig.6). 0.46 m. below it were the pitched footings of Building 1, and natural sand or rock 1.5 m. below the turf line. In the removal of Wall C, sherds of a large, deep bowl (Fig. 8 no. 26) were found, of mid-16th to 17th century date. The wall's late insertion may have been to keep draughts out of the kitchen.

In the angle of Walls C and D, but under the footings, was a shallow pit full of stones and five medieval bricks. It was on the natural sand that a mesolithic flint point (Fig. 10: Appendix, Flints no.5) was found. Beyond the east end of Building 2 were portions of other walls on the same level. They ran over a deep pit or ditch full of rubble from earlier buildings, with several potsherds of 13th to 17th century date. The north wall of the present farmhouse at this point contains several burnt or eroded stones in its structure, and may be part of the earlier building.

Building 2a was actually an extension of Building 2, going 7.5 metres to the north, and extending 15 m. east-west. Only portions of it were uncovered, as this area was occupied for domestic purposes.

The Kiln (Fig.6: Plate 3)

As mentioned above, the north-west corner of the enclosure was complicated by the bank that branched towards the pond, and also by old trees. Inside the angle of the double banks a well-built, stone-lined furnace survived, 3.35 m. by 1.25 m. (11 by 5 ft.), with a flue on the east side some 1.25 m. in length. The walls were splayed outwards, with 12 to 15 courses of stones, 1.25m. high. The floor was natural brown shale with a layer of iron pan on top, and heavily burnt in the flue, though this burning did not extend far up the sides. No slag was found in the filling, and only a few potsherds, including one Staxton-type rim. Several animal bones included some from a small horse or pony, also ox, pig and sheep. There were indications of a wall on the south side, perhaps surviving from a small shed covering the kiln Mr. M.W. Barley, who saw it during excavation suggested it was for malting rather than corndrying (6). This interpretation is supported by a St. Mary's Charter (7), which mentions the grinding of malting oats along with all the corn of the hall of Spaunton. According to this document the tenants had to repair the watermill; this mill must have been at Appleton or Lastingham, though there was a windmill at Spaunton at one time (Great and Little Windmill Fields are situated east of Lidsty Hill).

The kiln was backfilled and is preserved. Early occupation may yet be found inside part of the enclosure to the south-west and the north.

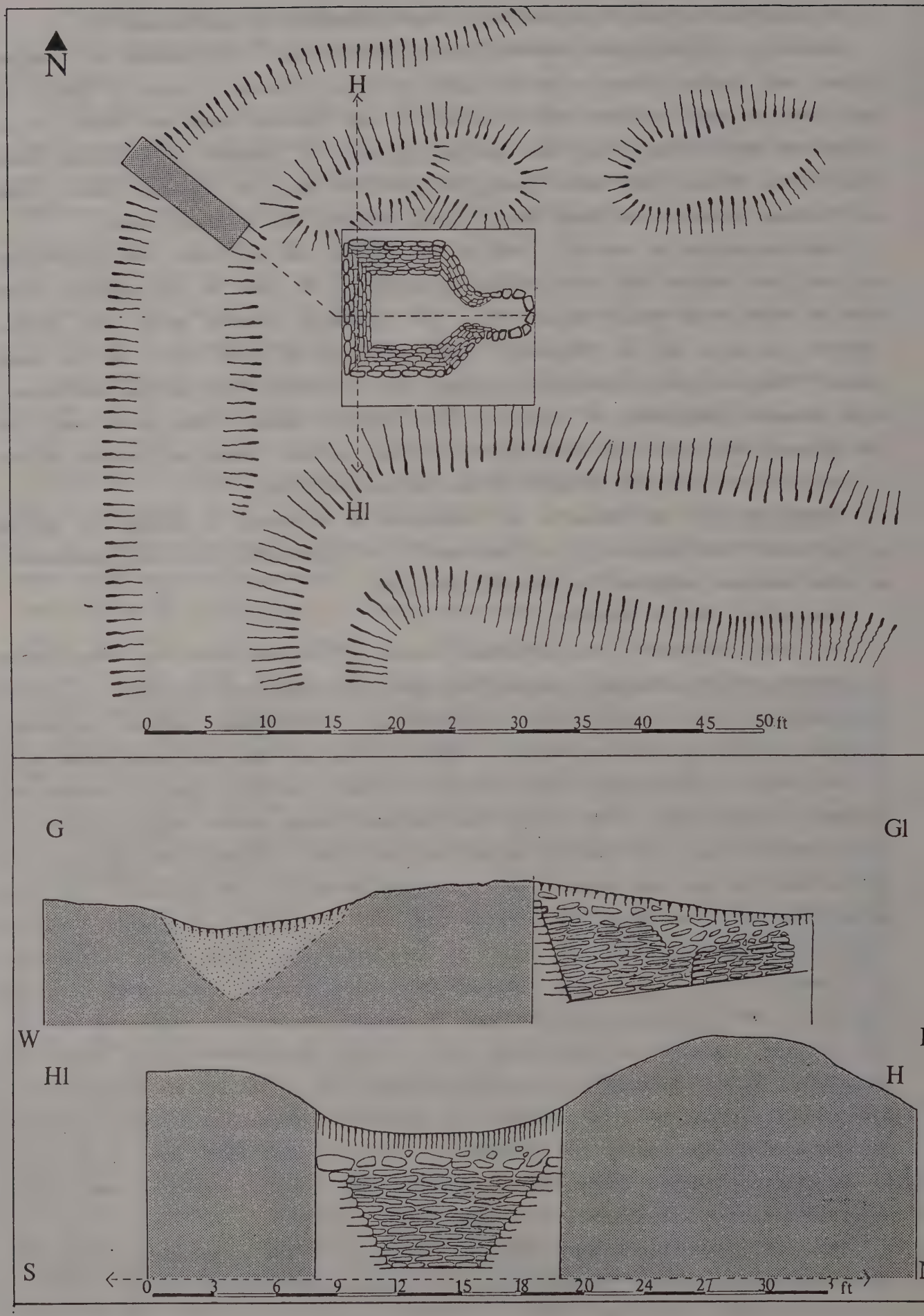


Fig.6: Kiln: plan and sections.

Plate 2: West Ditch: Trench 1.

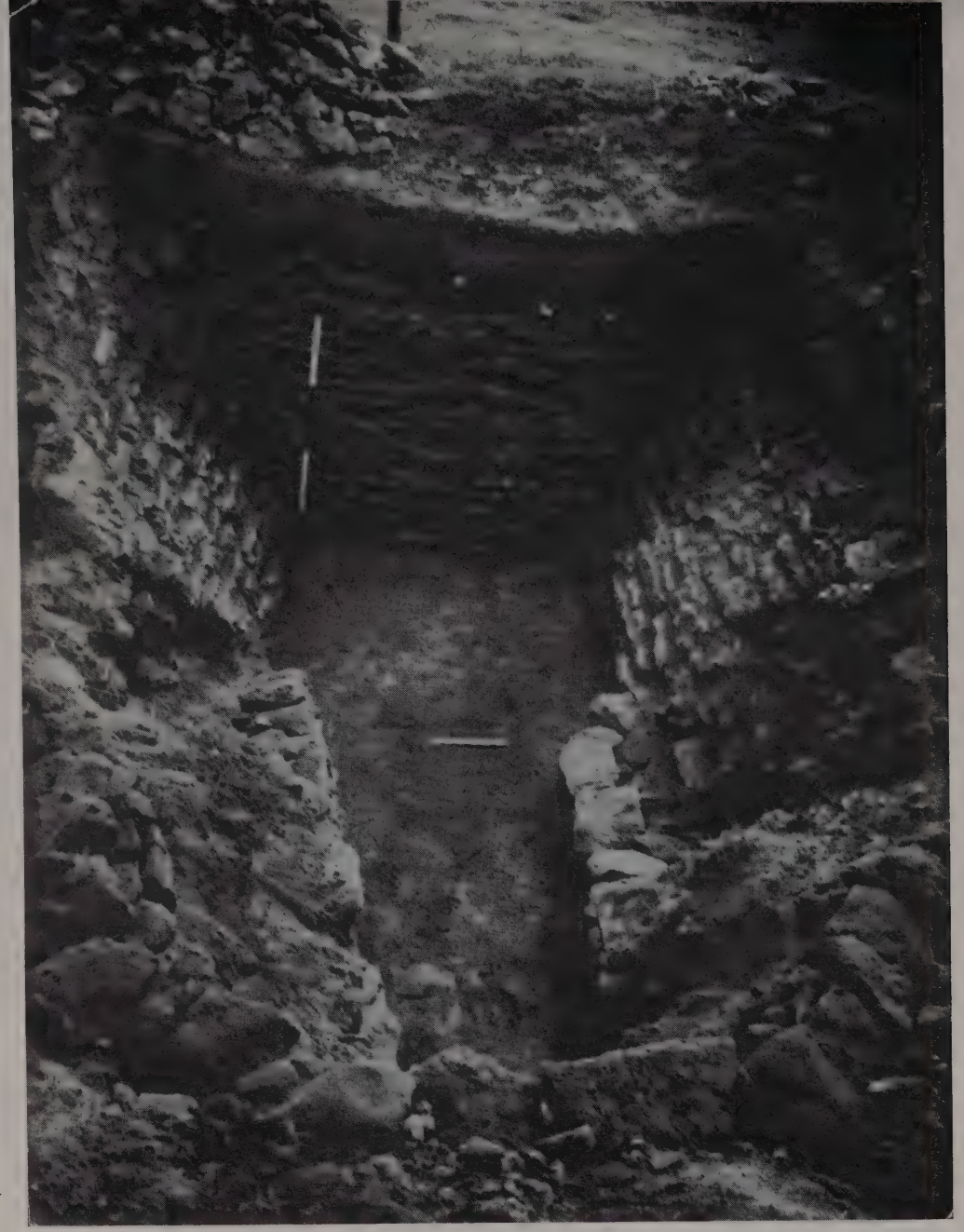


Plate 3: Kiln: west wall.

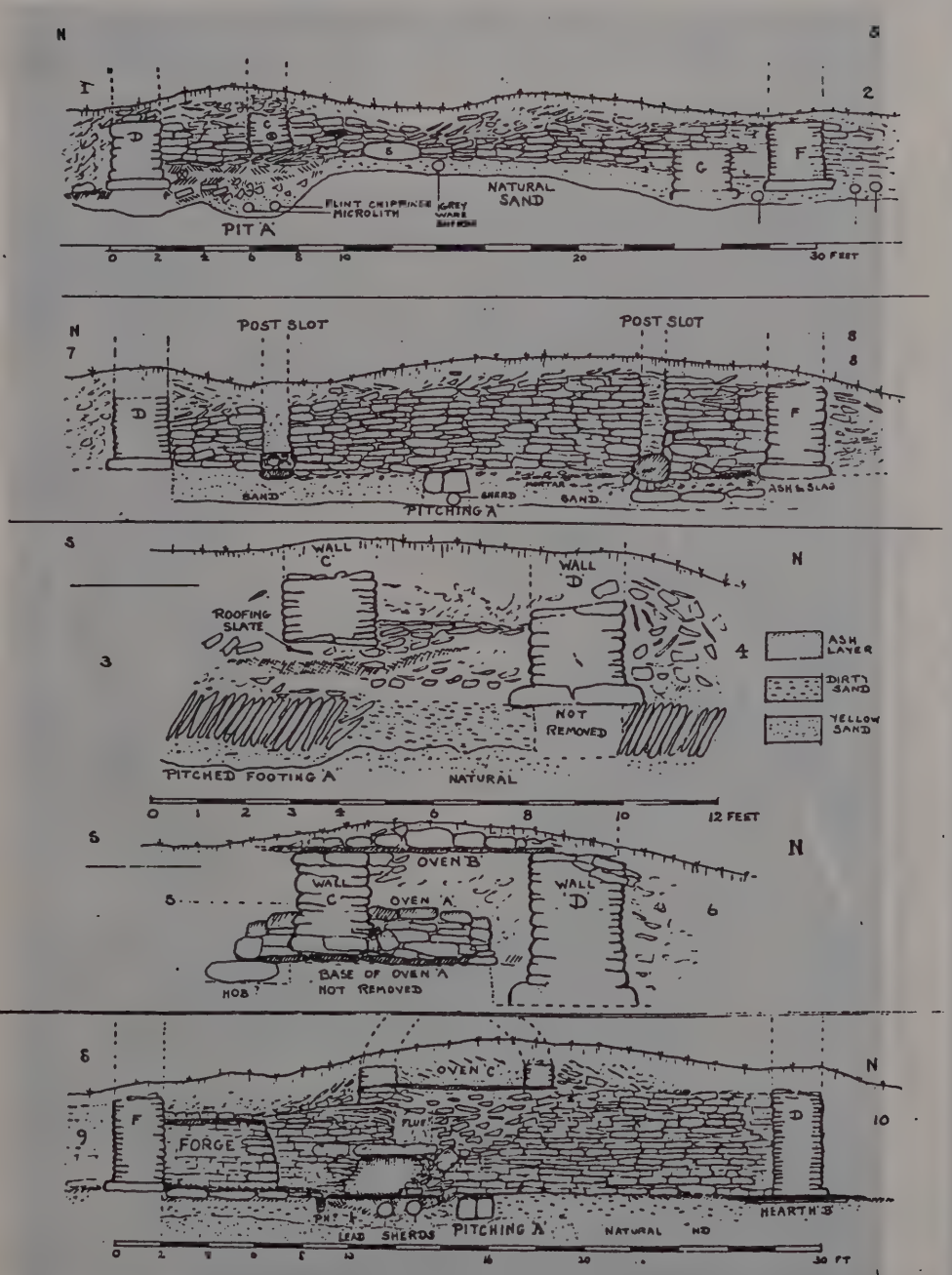


Fig. 7: (Cf. Fig 5)

Plate 4: Oven 'B'

Plate 5: Oven 'C'

Summary

Spaunton is recorded in Domesday Book: formerly held by the Saxon Gamel, then by the Abbot of St. Mary's, York. There were 6½ carucates (approx. 780 acres) of land, for six ploughs, and a considerable amount of wood-pasture. Nine villein farmers held a further two ploughs. St. Mary's retained the manor until 1539. Via a succession of later owners, it came eventually, in 1770, to Henry Brewster Darley.

The abbot had a hall and a grange there, with a bailiff called de Spanton living at the hall in the 13th century. The hall was rebuilt at least three times, though little trace was found during the excavation of a fully timbered building. From the Bonvill will of 1582,(8) we gather it was still in existence at that date. The present farmhouse (now flats) was probably built in the early 18th century.

Potsherds are numerous in the fields around the manor site and there is little evidence to support Pamela Allerston's theory (9) that the original Spaunton was in a field called 'Tofts' opposite Oldfield Pond (see Fig.1), where little if any pottery has been found.

The excavations uncovered mainly industrial or domestic quarters, and the main hall presumably lies under the present farmhouse.

Footnotes

(1) Rev. F.H. Weston M.A., History of Lastingham, 1914, pp.56-57.

(2) Scarborough Medieval Pottery (Scarborough Arch. Soc. Special Report No. 3, 1961 p.5.).

(3) A Romano-British aisled house was excavated south of Spaunton in 1964-5 by Arthur H. Whitaker. Report in Ryedale Historian no.3, 1967, pp.12-25. Finds in Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole.

(4) J.H. Rushton in Ryedale Historian no.9, 1978, p.43, quoting a charter in York Dean and Chapter MS xvi A, which grants wood and 'what is necessary for (the Abbot's) hall of Spaunton' considers this evidence of a timbered building, though it does not specify whether the wood is for firewood or construction.

(5) Excavations at Thornton Riseborough (unpublished), 1978.

(6) Cf. Medieval Archaeology, 1969, fig. 71, which shows an identical kiln at All Saints' Church, Brixworth, Northants, excavated by P.J. Woods, probably of 13th century date.

(7) York Dean and Chapter MS xvi A, f 179, 'Humphrey the Miller and his mills of Spaunton'. The manor included Appleton and Lastingham.

(8) Borthwick Institute, York, dated 10 Feb. 1582.

(9) Transactions of the British Geographical Society, no.51, 1970.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to G.W. Darley, Esq., Lord of the Manor, for permission to dig, and to T.H. Strickland, his tenant from 1944 to 1980, for much help and hospitality. Also to the late Rowland S. Close of Baysdale, Bert Frank,

and Bill Ford, then employed by Mr. Strickland. Several plans and figures have been re-drawn by students at the Manpower Services Organisation under Miss Shirley Johnson at Leeds, and later at Bradford University. Finally, Dr. Don Bramwell, of Bakewell, Derbyshire, sorted and identified the animal bones.

APPENDIX A. The de Spanton family.

Sources: 1) A.T. Spanton, history of his family (1897 - privately printed), in Lastingham Parish Chest. (A continuation in note form, previously in parish chest, now in North Yorks. County Record Office, ref. PR/LAS 9/3.).

2) Rev. F.H. Weston, History of Lastingham (1914).

3) Parker MSS (Notebooks of Thomas Parker) vol.ii (1882), in Ryedale Folk Museum.

The de Spanton family were freeholders in Spaunton in the 13th and 14th centuries. Their relationship with St. Mary's Abbey is unclear. Peter de Spanton appears to have come from Guisborough to Spaunton early in the 13th century. He was succeeded by his son John, born about 1205, who was a benefactor of both Guisborough Priory and St. Mary's Abbey (cf. Guisborough Chartulary (Surtees Soc.) and Yorkshire Fines 1246-72 (YAS Record Series).) John's grave-slab is in the crypt of Lastingham Church. According to Young (History of Whitby, 1817) the stone was then inscribed, apparently in French 'ION DE SPANTON...PVR IHV CHRIST'. In 1260 Robert de Spanton acted as attorney for the Abbot of Whitby in a law-suit (Yorks. Fines. 1246-72, p.182.). Other members of the family witnessed charters, e.g. Guisborough Chart. no. 758. In 1334 Roger de Spanton was fined for depredation of a wood in Riseborough, and John and Agnes de Spanton for letting cattle stray in the Forest of Pickering (Coucher Book of Forest of Pickering, ff 348,353).

The family ceases to be mentioned in connection with Spaunton after this date, but Thomas Parker (vol.ii, pp.51-7) gives some account of Spantons who farmed at Welburn from about 1580 to 1750.

A.T Spanton's family history refers (p.9) to a 'Spaunton Castle', sited to the north of the Manor House, and pulled down about 1690. 'The remains of a double moat are clearly visible at the north-eastern extremity of the site. A mound can be traced at the back of the Manor...The continuation of this mound is again seen on the south-east of the Manor, near the road..."

Weston, in his parish history, rejects any suggestion of a castle, for which there is no documentary evidence. Mr. Spanton's 'double moat' is doubtful, save at the north-west corner of the manor site. The continuation south-eastwards is interesting and may be correct. The rear wall at the north-west corner of the present Manor Farm could be part of the original hall, and foundations. certainly continue underneath it.

APPENDIX B. Finds.

1) Pottery (Figs. 8-10).

As might be expected from the kitchen installations, cooking pots and jugs form the majority of types. There were also at least six bowls (Fig. 8 nos.20,22-26). Large decorated jugs such as Fig.9 nos. 33-35 point to wine or beer, refreshment for the underlord or the visiting abbot and other notables; over 35 jug sherds were found, including some small red-ware pitchers, found near the jetton (see below), of 14th century date. Dating is between the late 12th and the 16th centuries, mainly 13-15th. Very little earlier pottery turned up, apart from the odd sherds of neolithic (Fig. 10, no.60), two possible fragments of Romano-British, one sherd from the west ditch that may be early Saxon, and others from the culvert and east ditch (Fig.8, nos. 17-21; Fig.10, no.57) which have affinities to late Saxon. The ware may have come from local kilns; some is certainly from Staxton, and more probably comes from monastic kilns supplying St. Mary's Abbey.

Inventory

Fig.8 (a) Cookpots and jars

1-3 Unglazed rims of jars or cookpots in hard, stony, well-fired orange-buff ware. No. 1, rim 15cm., diam., grey core and interior; found under footings of Building 1. Two other body sherds of same. No.2, rim diam. 18cm., thumb impressions on lip, from Hearth A. No.3, found under footings of wall 'D', east end.
Compare this type (also bowl no.20) with Scarborough Medieval Pottery (henceforward SMP), ref. as footnote 2, fig. 52/5 (Hatterboard) and 52/8 (Cawthorn). Date 1225-1300.

4 Square-rimmed cookpot, diam. 18-20cm., found under Wall 'E' in dark soil. Cf. SMP type 32 (12th cent.), but also similar rim from Hungate, York, (Archaeological Journal, henceforth Arch.J., vol.cxvi (1959), fig. 23, no.16) (11-12th cent.).

6-7 Similar rims, orange-buff, diam. 23cm. No.7 has trace of green glaze. Found at lowest level of Building 1 foundations. Familiar local types, found at Hutton-le-Hole.

5 Large jar in hard, well-made orange-buff ware, thumb-impressed cordon or frill around the neck; traces of poor green glaze; diam. 20cm. From interior of Building 1a. 1350-1400. A similar rim came from trial trench at the Stuteville Castle, Kirkbymoorside.

5a Rim, diam. 20cm. Cookpot? Found near socket stone in Building 1a. 14th cent. Cf. SMP type 45, fig.8 (impressions on top of rim), and Hungate York (Arch.J cxvi, fig. 24, no.22.).

8 Rim of large, bowl-like cookpot, dirty buff, diam. 28cm. SMP type 51/1. 1200-1250.

9 Rim of bowl, 25.5cm. diam., light buff, from L-K area footings. SMP type 48/2, Fig.8. 12-13th cent.

10 Knobbed rim of cookpot, 18cm. diam., buff, internal green glaze. 15th cent.

11 Club rim of cookpot, 18cm. diam., in hard, stony grey ware, from trial

Fig.8: Pottery (1)

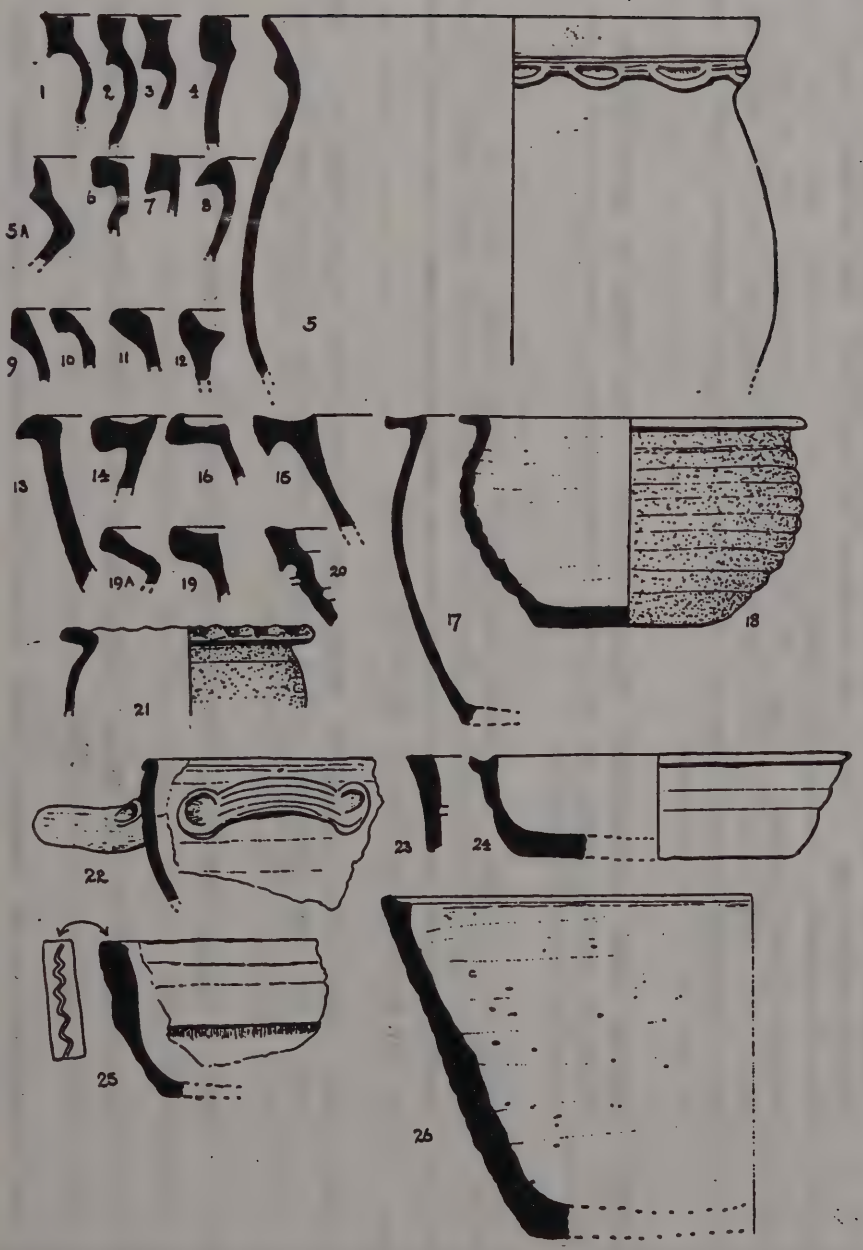
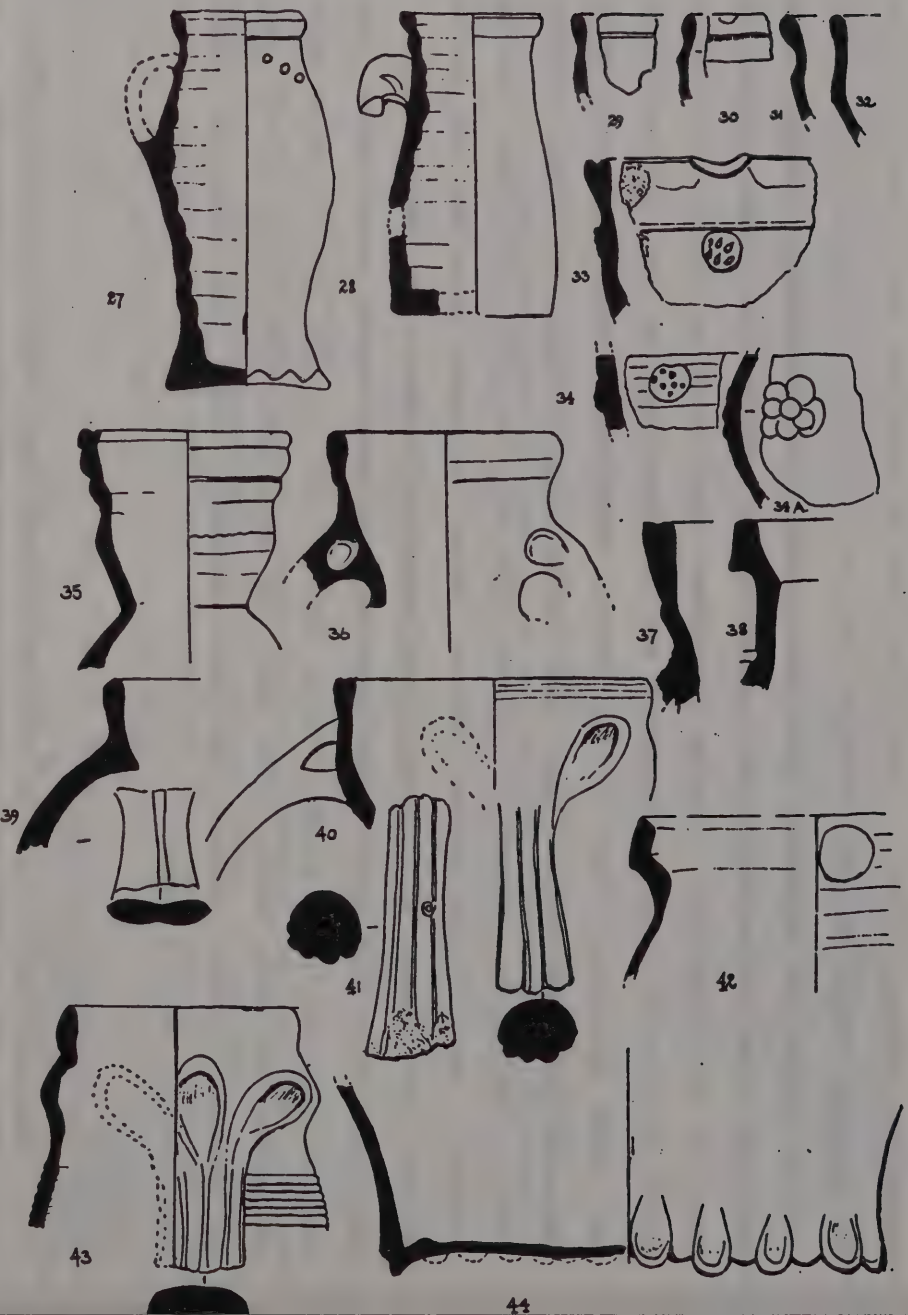


Fig.9: Pottery (2)



trench south of Oven 'C'; two similar from doorway, Building 2, and one from Hall Ings (see Fig.1). A Staxton type, 12th-early 13th cent.

12 Rim of large pan with lid flange. Dirty buff. From bottom of Pit 'D'. SMP fig 9, 58/7 (Cawthorn).

13 Bowl or cookpot, diam. 23-25cm., dirty brown; glaze poor brown to green. From filling of Pit 'D'.

14-15 Cookpots in hard, sandy orange-brown ware, diams. 23-30cm. a common local type found elsewhere in Spaunton (New Inn Paddock, Bank Top) and Hutton. Probably local manufacture or Staxton. From culvert and fireplace 'E', also ovens 'A', 'C'. 12-13 cent.

16 Large pan or cookpot, also a local type, from Building 2a doorway footings. SMP type 58/6 (Cawthorn and Nawton sites).

17-18 Small bowl-like cookpots from culvert lower silt; very thin walls but certainly used on fire judging by their sooty exteriors. Dark sooty grey to brown or orange-buff interior, sandy ware similar to Staxton ware (SMP 42/2). 1250-1325. This form strongly resembles Anglo-Danish ware from Hungate, York (Arch.J. vol.cit. fig. 17, nos.51-52). These rims have occurred at Whitby (P.A. Rahtz, Yks. Arch. Journal vol.xl, fig.5 no.5). A survival of an early form. No.17 diam. 17cm., height 12.6cm: No.18, diam. 12.6cm. Dark brown to orange-buff; fine sparkling grit in fabric, ribbed body. (Restored from fragments).

19 Cookpot rim, diam. 18cm., brown-grey to buff. From foundations of Building 1a. Akin to SMP type 41b/2, late 13th-early 14th cent.

19a Wide outbent rim of early Norman type cookpot in hard grey-brown ware from Trench 5. Cf. Abinger Motte (B. Hope Taylor, Arch.J. vol.cvii (1950), p.35, fig. 9, no.5) or Hungate, York (Arch.J. vol.cxvi., fig. 16, no. 39). 1100.

20 Bowl in hard, well-fired orange-buff ware, flanged outer rim, diam. 15cm. SMP type 52/4 (Middleton by Pickering). 14th cent.

21 Rim of small jar or cookpot in hard brown ware, blackened at rim with a notched outer edge. SMP type 40/A1 (Cook's Row, Scarborough), but even more like Anglo-Danish 'C' ware from Hungate, York (Arch.J., vol. cit.. fig.17, no.61). Found in east ditch (Fig.7, no.3 on section.). Rim of cookpot of type 40 (below) found in kiln flue to east, with body base sherds of two or three others.

(b) Bowls and dishes.

22 Rim and side with horizontal handle of a bowl in smooth hard buff ware, patchy mottled green glaze inside. Probably had two handles. From Wall 'E' near Forge. 16th cent.? Cf. a handled bowl from Kingthorpe, Newby Kilns, and Grimthorpe (Scarborough Transactions vol. xxi (1978) fig.4).

23 Shallow dish, rim diam. 25.5cm., eroded tile-like ware, poor green glaze, found near Hearth 'A'. SMP type 29/1 (Cook's Row). 14th cent.

24 Probably rectangular dish about 38cm., by 15cm.; stony brown, grey core, orange interior, slightly glazed in yellow-green, also on base. Found by wall 'E'. 15-16th cent.

25 Shallow bowl or dish, probably rectangular. Pink ware, internal brown-green glaze, wavy line on rim glazed deep green. From Building 2a, above floor level. SMP type 29/3. 16th cent.

26 Large deep bowl, tile-red ware, patches of yellow glaze on rim, spots on sides, internal brown-green glaze, pimply. 30.5cm. diam., 15cm. deep. Restored from several pieces all found in lower courses of wall 'C' near drain. 1550-1600.

Fig.9 (c) Flagons, beakers and jugs.

27 Small handled beaker or pitcher in smooth red ware, reconstructed from pieces found by the post slot (south) in Building 2. 14.5cm. high, 5cm. rim diam., 5.75cm. footring. The jetton (see below, Tiles, bones, metal,

no.11.) was found on the soil tip from this area. Cf. Yks. Arch. Journal pt. 158 (1960), p.300, fig.2. 14-15th cent.

28 Squat and distorted little pitcher in similar though coarser ware, lug handle twisted sideways, 12cm. high, 5cm. rim diam., 6.4cm. base. From wall 'E' as above (no. 26).

29-30 Rims in coarse red ware of similar vessels, dirty orange ware with grey core, girth diam. 7.7cm. Another was found east of Oven 'A'.

31 Rim of small jar or beaker, smooth orange-buff. Footings of Building 1. 13th cent.?

32 Similar from west ditch, section I, 0.6m. down. Thumb-pressed base.

33 Bridge-spouted jug, coarse orange, grey core, rough interior, flecks of green glaze, stamped rosette under spout. under wall 'G'. SMP type 4. Late 13th-early 14th cent.
Two more spouted jugs, not drawn, from wall 'E', green-glazed, buff-ribbed; one in light buff with white interior from Oven 'B' charcoal layer, and one in rilled buff from kiln ditch.

34 Another rosette stamp on body of jug, dark green glaze, grey interior.

34a Two sherds of jug in dark green glazed ware, one with rosette, probably 14th cent. From wall 'F'. Cf. SMP type 24/1.

35 Rim of spouted jug, smooth orange-buff, grey core, 7.5cm. diam. rim, green glaze below shoulder. From East ditch section 2 among roofing slates. Another from kiln ditch. Cf. Hungate, York, fig. 24, nos. 25-7 (15th cent. with strap handles).

35a Another spouted jug, buff, green glazed, rilled body, oval handle.

36 Battered rim and part of handle of buff ware jug, patches of green glaze (very rough and pimply), round handle. From kiln ditch, 1m. down. Similar to one from the 12th cent. hall at Huttons Ambo (Arch.J. vol. cxiv (1959), fig.7, no. 9.).

37-38 Rims of large jugs (38, 13cm. diam. rim.), massive stony ware, poor external green glaze but good interior. Found between walls C and D (corridor). 16th cent.

39 Large jug in sandy orange, flecks of green glaze, with strap handle. Rim 9cm. diam. From kiln ditch 0.6m. down. 15th cent.

40 Large jug in orange ware, rim 13cm. diam., portion of body with round ribbed handle. 5 identical sherds, one from east ditch no.1, others from Building 2 layers at east end of wall 'F'. 13-14th cent.

41 Round ribbed handle in pimply ware, patch of light green glaze. 13-14th cent.

42 Large handled jug rim, 15cm. diam., with ledge (? for lid), metallic green-yellow glaze, raised blob, dull green interior. From upper layers with roofing slates. Two other sherds of this glaze. SMP 11/3, late 15th cent.

43 Jug rim, 9cm. diam., light buff, grey core, good green glaze, ribbed strap handle; a very elegant vessel. From wall 'G' area. 15th cent. 8 similar rims from other locations and east ditch sections.

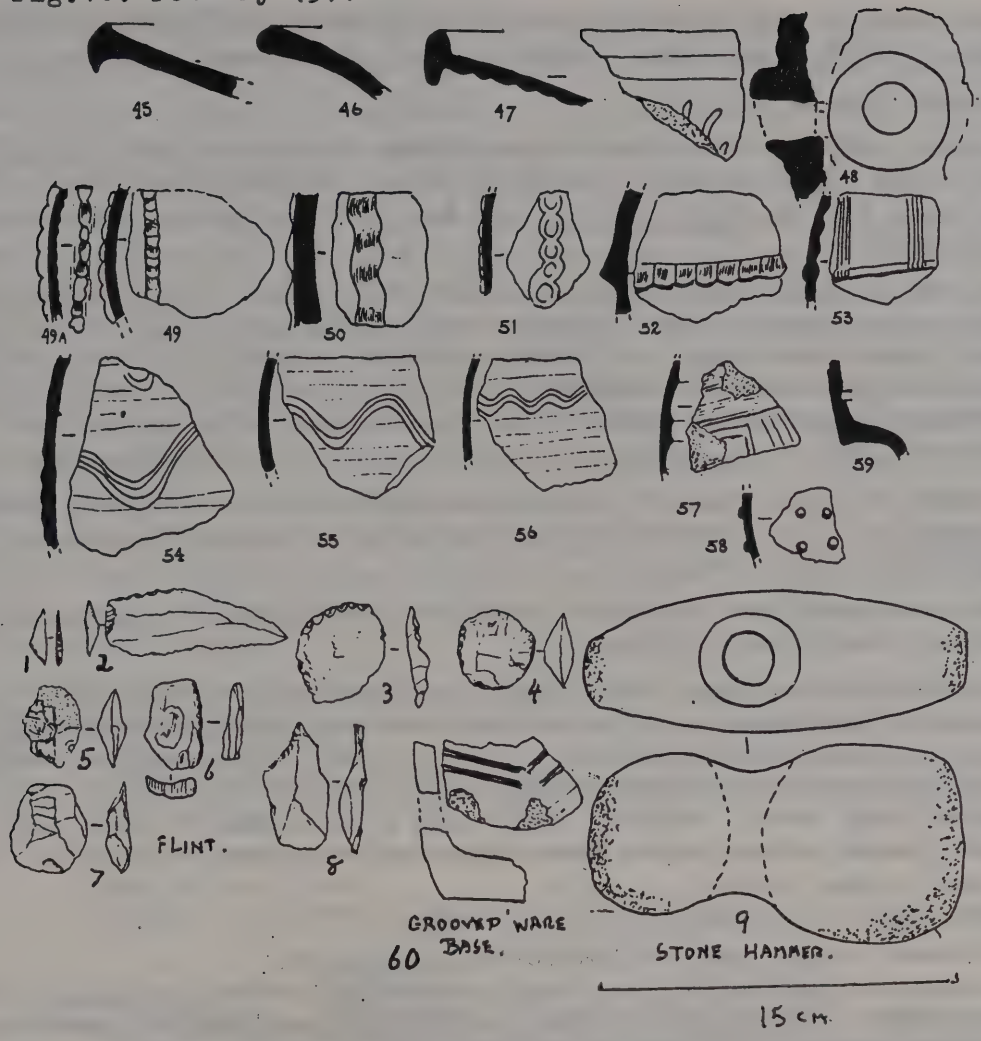
(d) Bases.

Nine finger or thumb-impressed types, tile-red or orange, mostly with flecks of green glaze; 3-4 in pit 'B', one 25cm. diam.

44 Diam. 20cm.; probably belongs to no.43, from 'F'.

12 large plain bases of jugs, some green-glazed; 5 footring bases, one sagging considerably, looks like kiln waster (buff exterior grey core and interior, 10cm. diam.).

Fig.10: Pottery (3): Flints.



Body sherds were not as plentiful as rims and bases led one to expect.

Fig.10 (e) Platters.

45 Diam. 36cm. in dirty tile-red, poor green glaze on top and over rim. From 'K' topsoil. Cf. Beck Garth, Hutton-le-Hole. 17-18th cent.

46 Rim diam. 30-33cm., tile-red, green glaze in bands. Late 17th cent.

47 Hammer-head type, rim 28cm. diam., orange ware with pattern in light yellow glaze. From Pit 'D'. 17-18th cent.

Of 17th cent. date was a piece of the face-mask of a Bellarmine jug, also 3 fragments of slip ware, mottled brown to yellow stripes.

(f) Decorated body sherds.

48 Bung-holed body sherd of large jar, 23-25cm. girth, 2cm. hole. Buff, green-glazed exterior. From west ditch rampart. SMP type 57. Uncommon at Spaunton but plentiful at Stearsby, Grimthorpe and Potter Houses post-medieval kilns.

49 Three pieces of neck of green-glazed jug with raised band or cordon (Building 2). Another (49a) from filling of Oven 'C'.

50 Piece of large tile-red ware, very sooty, applied band on exterior; could be cooking pan of SMP type 41a, or Huttons Ambo, fig.7, no.1. 1175-1250.

51 Ditto, in pimply ware, eroded, from ditch section E 5. (This type of vertical applied band also used on 14th cent. chimney pots or 'louvers', cf. Arch.J., vol.cxvi (1959), pp.176-8, figs. 16-17.).

52 Portion of jug neck, raised cordon or frill, worn tile-red, poor green glaze. From Oven 'B'.

53 Body sherd in orange, vertical lines to raised cordon. 16-17th cent.

54 Body sherd in thin tile-red ware, poor green glaze, irregular wavy lines. Girth diam. 28cm. From 'F'. Cf. Keld Head, Pickering.

55 Similar from K-L.

56 Similar, thin ware with wavy line; eroded sherd from under rampart wall, west ditch section 1, akin to no.48. Probably Stearsby or Potter Ho. ware, but cf. Arch. Aeliana vol.xxv, p.192, fig.2 (Cambokeels). 15th cent.

57 Thin well-turned body sherd, internal ribs, exterior grey-brown, smooth with faint spidery lines incised. The only example found, from C-D, burnt layer under wall. Cf. Scratch-marked pottery of 1100 from Abinger Motte and elsewhere (B. Hope-Taylor, Arch.J. vol.cvii (1950), pp.34-6), and squat Anglo-Saxon vessel in dark-brown ware with 'spider-web' pattern from Lincs. (Arch.J. vol.cviii (1951), p. 447, fig.120a).

58 Fragment of body sherd of jug, yellow glaze blobs or pellets, from doorway wall 'F'. Probably from Scarborough, Castle Rd. pottery (SMP 20/1). 14th cent.

59 Part of a small bowl or cup in orange-buff with patch of external glaze. Similar sherd from 'Building 2'.

60 Neolithic Grooved Ware, from 1.5m. down near walls 'K' and 'L'. 3 pieces of hand-made, very eroded body and base in flaky brown ware with black core and brown interior. 1.3cm. thick. 2 incised grooves 1cm. apart, from pot of 25-30cm. diam.
Another body sherd, smoother brown ware with pieces of stony grit.
Three pieces of heavy flat base, smoothed, with black core; 2cm. thick, to wall 1.3cm. thick.
These finds confirmed by Mr. T.G. Manby.

Not drawn: three possible Romano-British sherds:
One piece of hard sandy grey body sherd with internal rilling, 3.5cm. by 2.5cm., 6mm. thick. Found under footings of east wall of Building 2. (Another piece 2 by 2.5cm. from same area.).
Two small scraps 2.5 by 3cm., 5mm. thick. Found under rampart wall filling on east side of west ditch, section 1.

All finds now in Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, or retained by R.H. Hayes.

Finds 2) Tiles, hones and metal.

1 Unglazed ridge tile, orange-red, flat-topped crest 7.5cm. tapering to 10cm. long. To span ridge at least 23-25cm. Similar tile found at Broughton Manor, Malton. Found at east end of Building 2.

2 Two similar but with rounded crest only 2.5 by 4cm., with bands of green and brown glaze. Larger than no.1. One restored by T.G. Manby in Folk-Museum. From Pit 'D' and wall 'C'. probably mid-14th cent.

Several pieces of dull green-glazed curved pantiles with grey core - not ridge-tiles - from near west side of Wall 'E' and on top of this wall. Only one or two pieces of glazed floor-tiles similar to those from Riseborough (exc. 1977-8).

3 Small portion of pointed hone, black and smoothed, from pitched footings of Building 1. 12th cent. Similar type used by Vikings at Kildale - cf. Elgee, Early Man in N-E. Yorks. (1930), fig. 67e.

4 Larger hone, over 15cm. by 2.5cm., of light grey, fine-grained stone.

5 Iron head and part socket of winged mason's hammer (cf. London Museum Medieval Catalogue) from lower course of filling of south door, Building 2. See Fig. 11. In Folk Museum.

6 Knobbed pin from floor level, Building 2.

7 Iron latch-lifter (?). From forge area.

8 Half of a bullock shoe, from ditto.

9-10 Square-headed blacksmith-made iron nails. From buildings and east ditch.

11 The jetton. Found on spoil-heap of Building 2 by R. Frank (see no. 27 above). Now lost. It was exactly like that described by J.D.A. Thompson of the Ashmolean Museum in The Countryman, vol.liii (4), 1956, p.811:

"A thin metal disk with crown and fleur-de-lys design and motto - AVE MARIA GRASIA PLENA. It is a jetton or reckoning counter, first used in conjunction with a counting board or cloth divided into squares or chequers for calculations before Roman measurements were replaced by Arabic in Europe in the fifteenth century. Usually in copper or bronze, first used in thirteenth-century France; hence the French name, jeton. Often imitated by the current coins or inscriptions, misspelt and meaningless."

The late James Gray of Cropton had a coin of Edward III with a similar crown and fleur-de-lys, found at Cropton.

12 Stone basin or piscina. Part of rim (21.5cm. diam.), and side to base (2.5-4.5cm. thick). Turned local stone? Found outside south wall of Building 2. Similar basin from Folly Farm near Ingleby Manor, Cleveland, now in Folk Museum.

13 Roofing slates, very numerous, probably into hundreds, many broken. All of fissile corallian limestone, and all with nail-holes. Some in Folk Museum.

Sizes: small rectangular, 23 x 10cm.: oval or triangular, 23 x 12.5cm., 25.5 x 15cm.
medium (oval, pointed or diamond-shaped), 40 x 28cm,, 40 x 18cm,, hole 1.7cm. diam.
largest 71 x 38cm.

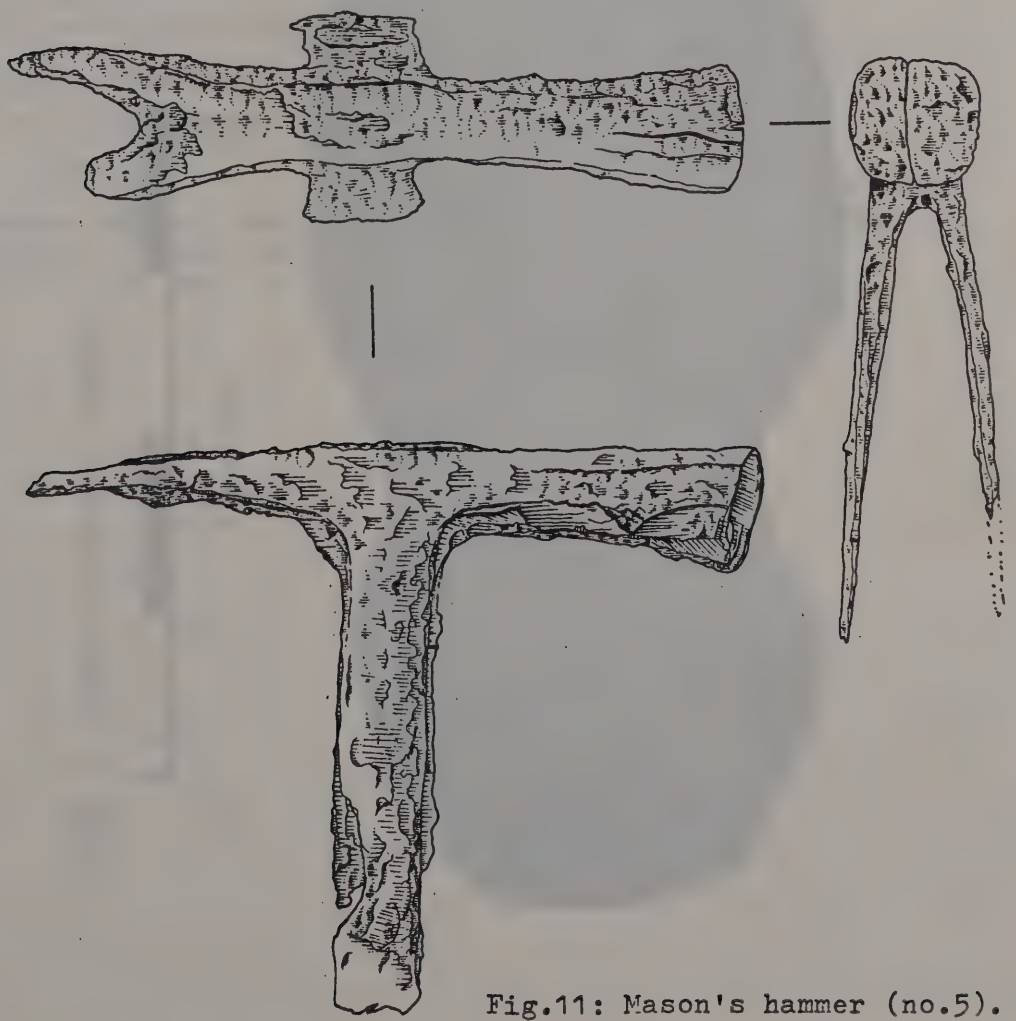


Fig.11: Mason's hammer (no.5).

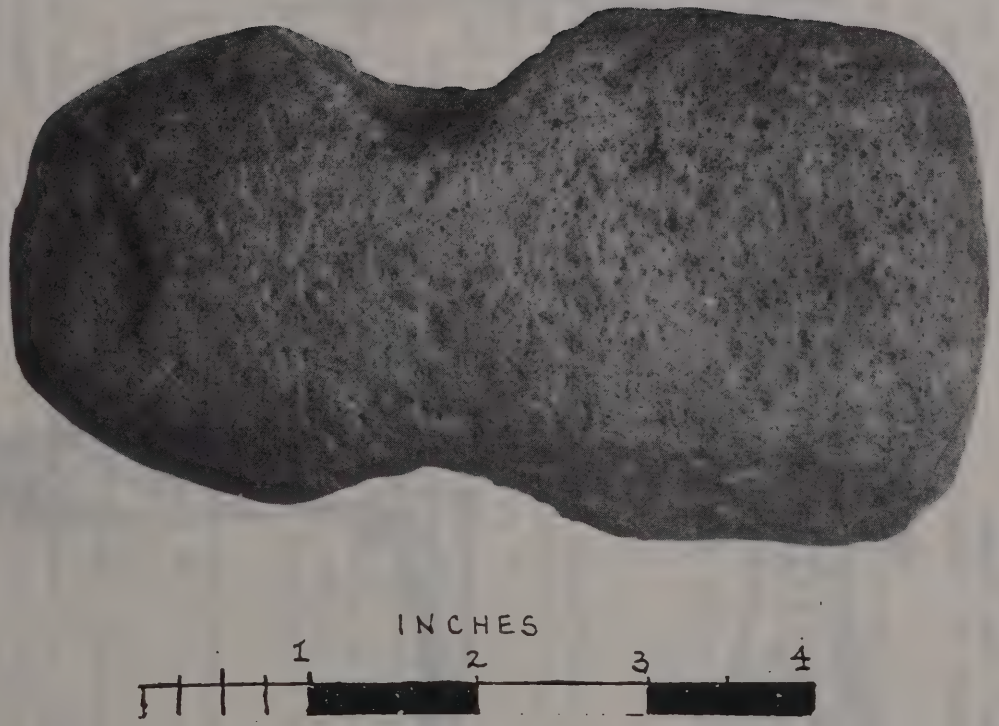


Plate 7: Stone axe-hammer (no.9).

Plate 6: SW corner of forge building.

Finds 3) Flints. (Fig.10).

1 Scalene triangle of mesolithic type, identical with several from the high moors; light grey flint. From Pit A.

2 Knife, from grey flint flake. Pit A.

3 Scraper, light grey flint worked on one edge. From south-west corner under Wall 'K' with grooved ware no.60. Two flakes and chippings in sand nearby.

4 Core scraper worked round bulb of percussion; light yellow flecked flint.

5 Similar though cruder. From sand under pitched footing of Building 1.

6 Thick flake, some working down side.

7 Crude oval piece - unworked?

8 Flake in orange-brown flint (Cleveland drift?)
Worked burin type or strike-a-light?

Total of 32 flints from excavation.

9 Stone axe-hammer. (Plate 7) Found on heap of stones and soil from trench south of Building 2 and foundations of G-H. 14.5cm. long by 7.5cm at blade, 6.5cm. to 4cm. at butt end. Hole worked hour-glass shape, 2cm to 2.5cm. diam. Very weathered and abraded at butt end - used as hammer. Now in Folk Museum.

Finds 4) Animal bones (identified by Dr. D. Bramwell).

Horse: large cart-horse and smaller pony-sized animal, from kiln area.

Ox: Building 2, west end fireplace and near ovens A & B; east ditch; part of skull in culvert, with some short horn remains.

Dog: Small jaw in east ditch.

Red & Roe Deer: Hearth A and fireplace. Few elsewhere.

Sheep: Few bones of small animals.

Finds 5) Shells.

Oyster: a few. Cockle: 2-3. Whelk: 1. Mussel: above Pit D.
Dozens of snail shells - perhaps recent.

THE STONEWORK OF BYLAND ABBEY

by

S.A. Harrison

Byland Abbey, situated at the foot of the Hambleton Hills, cannot rival Rievaulx in the splendour of its Ryedale setting nor Fountains in the preservation of its buildings; within the local region many people remain ignorant of its existence, and very few appreciate its importance to the history of northern architecture. Nationally it is fairly well known for the remarkable preservation of its thirteenth century tile pavements and the remains of the large circular window set into the west front of the church. Many books of architecture mention Byland as an important building in the development of Early Gothic in the north, but few writers have tried to unlock its secrets with detailed study. In recent years, mainly through the published works of Professor Peter Fergusson, interest in the building has gradually increased; a picture of the abbey is now beginning to emerge which will enable its contribution to the northern Gothic style to be fully assessed for the first time. (1)

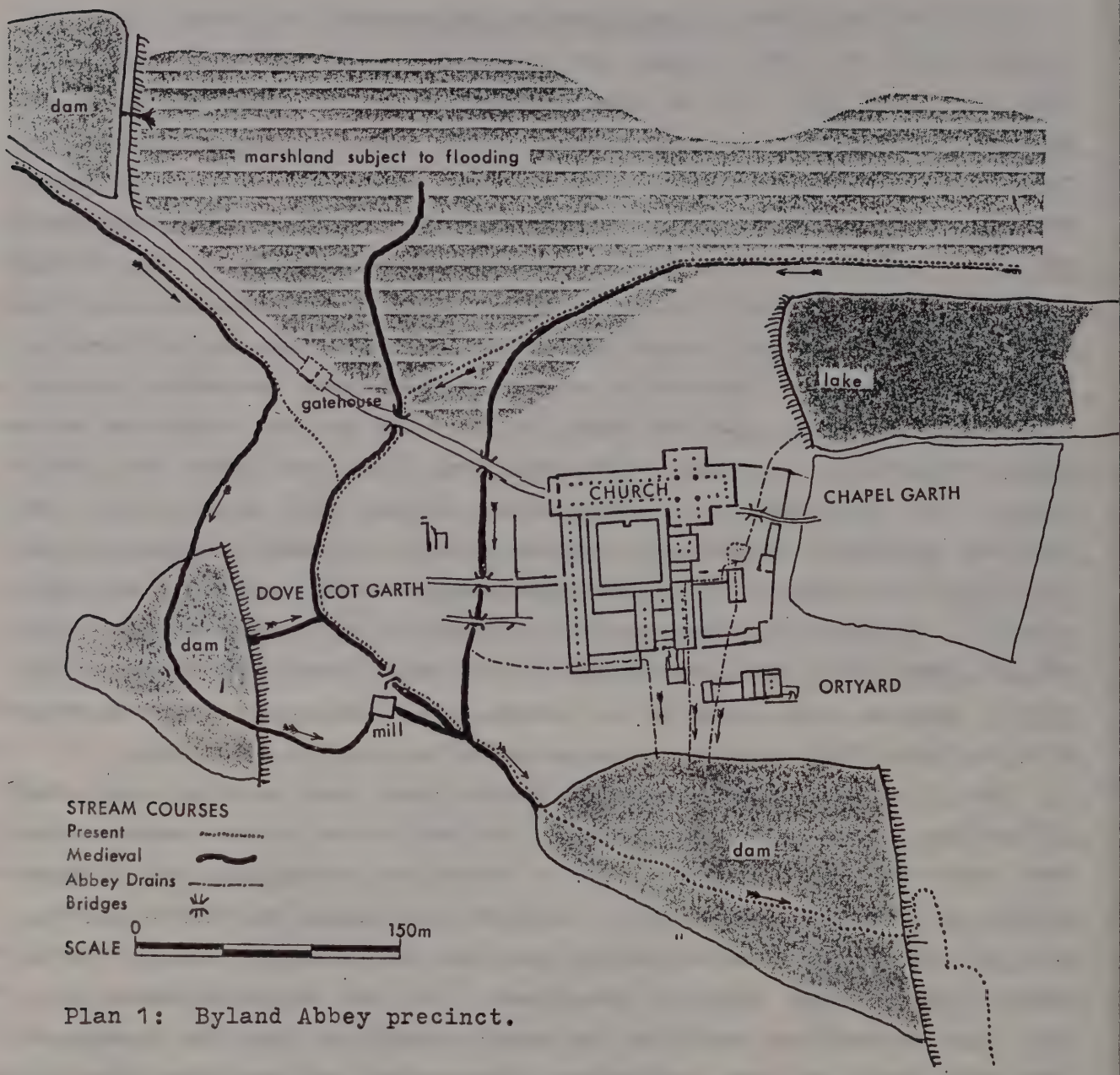
The author has spent many years studying the abbey buildings and is in the process of preparing a monograph which will give detailed analysis of its construction, and also reconstructions of many lost aspects of the church; this article gives some insight into that work, and serves to draw together many sources of scattered information which all form part of the history of this great abbey.

Both Rievaulx and Fountains attained their present size by a process of accretion. Their churches are large but this is because of the addition of new presbyteries in the early thirteenth century, which almost doubled their size. Thus at both these sites we have the contrast of very plain early Cistercian work in the nave and transepts, and developed Gothic forms in the later extensions (2); at Byland there was never such a contrast, for the large size of its church and monastery was intended from the start; thus its design was more uniform, maintaining the same elevation throughout the church. At the time of its construction it was the largest Cistercian church in Britain, employing a fully aisled presbytery, eastern and western aisles in the transepts, and a very long aisled nave. This developed plan was matched by the grandeur of its elevations and lavishly decorated leaf capitals, which used a large arcade, pierced arcaded triforium and developed clerestory with a circulating wall passage (3). Although the aisles were vaulted with quadripartite ribbed vaults, no attempt seems to have been made to stone-vault the main elevations, although the use of large triple shafts supported upon elaborately carved corbels dividing the bays may indicate that a stone vault was the original intention; instead a barrel ceiling of wooden construction was employed, probably painted to imitate a stone barrel vault (4).

In 1538 John Ledes, alias Alanbrig, surrendered the abbey of Byland, together with all its estates and possessions, to the commissioners of King Henry VIII (5). In the late twelfth century the abbey had been very powerful and wealthy, holding estates as far away as Warcop and Asby in Cumbria, and mines in the West Riding of Yorkshire; amongst its chief patrons was the great family of de Mowbray. By the time of its dissolution the abbey had twenty-four monks, a pitiful number compared to the several hundred it was originally built to serve. All its estates were also run by tenants, a situation brought about by the extinction of the order of lay-brothers who had originally worked the monastic properties (6).

Regular monastic life had begun on the site in 1177, when the monks moved from nearby 'Stocking' where they had lived and prayed for thirty years. The chronicle of the third abbot, Philip (7), tells us that the site was originally swamp-land, and was drained by long and wide ditches until dry land appeared, where the monks erected their 'great and beautiful church'. Evidence of these drainage operations can still be seen today and it seems clear that the areas to the north, west and south of the central complex were occupied by large lakes and dams, which provided water to flush the reredorter drains and power to drive the abbey mills.

Details of the water management systems have been partially published in previous issues of this journal, (8) but recently new evidence has been recognised which adds much to our understanding concerning the original working of the lakes and drains. In 1983 the summer was dry enough for many of the buried drains, within the central monastic complex, to be revealed as scorched marks in the grass. It was possible therefore to plot their courses upon a plan of the abbey and work out how they functioned. The main drain of the lay-brothers' reredorter was partially excavated by the Office of Works and is a well-built, ashlar-lined channel orientated parallel to the main axis of the building in an east-west alignment. At its east end the grass-marks showed that it continued eastward past the gable wall of the reredorter for only about two metres before it turned sharply southwards through ninety degrees to outfall in the pond south of the site. This course was confirmed by the author crawling partly into the drain with a torch where it was possible to see the bend in the drain. Unfortunately the area west of the reredorter and southern part of the west range showed no differential scorch marks, so it was not possible to trace the drain in that direction. East of the chapter house, and north of the Abbot's lodging is a large grassed platform created by the Office of Works; set into its western sloping edge are several tomb covers which show that the original ground level was much lower and that the platform is artificially high. In the Office of Works survey plans of



Plan 1: Byland Abbey precinct.

the site this area is marked as being a tank presumably for retaining a head of water to flush the drains of the abbot's lodging and the monks' reredorter. (9) Close by is a rather curious wide and deep stone-lined hole, fenced off by railings, which at first sight appears to be of no useful purpose. Careful study of the area however reveals that it is a section of a water channel excavated and conserved by the Office of Works and that the humped stone construction which marks its northern edge is in fact a bridge which spanned the watercourse. Exactly in alignment with this bridge, in the eastern wall which encloses this area east of the church, is a doorway which gave access to the area known as Chapelgarth. The northern section of this wall ends abruptly and is returned at a sharp angle westwards to the north-east corner of the church; part-way along, this stretch of walling is broken by a large gap, through which passed the water channel. (10) It now seems clear that the purpose of this channel was to feed the holding

cistern which flushed the drains; the channel itself was fed with water from a very large lake which occupied the area east of the monastic complex and immediately south of the modern Byland to Wass road. The scorch marks in the grass showed that the drain from the abbot's lodging runs southward from the building, deviating slightly to the west, outfalling in the pond south of the site. The reredorter drain was flushed from east to west and could be traced southward running under the day-room below the dormitory in the east range, through the south gable wall of the building and into the pond south of the site. (11)

At the present time two streams run through the monastic precinct; one comes through Wass village, running parallel to the Modern road, and passes beneath the Byland to Oldstead road between the Abbey Inn and the main monastic gatehouse. It then turns southward and then east to pass beneath the Byland to Coxwold road and down the field south of the abbey site. It is joined by another stream which comes from the direction of Oldstead parallel to that road, and passes under the yard of College Farm in a concealed channel.

This arrangement represents a simplification of the original medieval system, parts of which were no doubt rendered unnecessary once the monastery had been dissolved. Fortunately two plans show the original disposition of the watercourses before the alterations to them were made and the accuracy of these has recently been confirmed by a chance discovery in the garden of one of the local cottages. At Ampleforth Abbey is an old estate map of the Byland area which shows that the watercourse from Wass originally passed beneath the site of the Abbey Inn, parallel to the monastic west range, and then turned east in the field south of the site. Thomas Atkinson's plan published in 1806 shows part of the same watercourse, and that it was spanned by three bridges (13), the most northerly of which was sited to allow traffic to pass from the gatehouse to the west door of the church; it is probably now buried beneath the Byland to Oldstead road near the Abbey Inn. The second bridge was aligned with the gate sited in the west wall of the cellarer's yard, and was found by the owner of Mowbray House when he was digging a hole to plant a tree, a few years ago. His digging revealed one side of the bridge and showed that it was of similar character to that still to be seen in the area east of the church. Further digging west of the bridge encountered a hard-packed stony area which may be the remains of a rough metalled roadway. The third bridge, sited further south, probably lies buried under the grass verge of the Byland to Coxwold road. The position of this watercourse indicates that it probably served to flush the drain of the lay-brothers' reredorter by the use of a side-channel and paddle-sluice junction. West of this stream was another which drained from the field north of the Byland to Oldstead road in a curving line to join the first

stream, at the point where it turned eastward. The supply of water for this stream was the marshy ground north of the Oldstead-Byland-Wass road; on the western edge of this area was a large stone-revetted dam, the lowest in a series spanning the valley towards Oldstead. These dams were built to create fish-ponds and it seems likely that the lowest had a central sluice-gate to allow excess water into the marshland to the east, particularly during times of flood. Thus for considerable periods of the year a great deal of this area must have been under water. When the first watercourse was abandoned, the stream from Wass was redirected into the second watercourse, originally designed to take excess water from the marshy ground (14). The stream from Oldstead originally served to supply water to the abbey millpond, sited south of College Farm, and was redirected to join the watercourse from the marshland after the mill had gone out of use. The pond it supplied had two outfalls, placed in the large artificial bank retaining the head of water: the first took the overflow into the watercourse from the marshland, the second supplied the mill leat and would only be used when the mill was operating (15). All three watercourses eventually joined up in the area near the modern bridge which carries the Byland to Coxwold road, and served to supply water to the large pond which formerly filled the field south of the abbey; this in turn provided a head of water to drive the second abbey mill sited at Low Pasture Farm.

Study of the remains of the monastic complex shows that initial occupation of the site took place in the 1150s, with work on the east, west and south ranges being completed before the church was taken in hand. The earliest building on the site is the west range (16), occupied by the lay-brothers

of the lay-brothers' range may mean that the abbey was split between the two sites, the lay brothers at Byland and the choir monks at Stocking (18). Completion of the east and then the south ranges of the building complex followed closely on that of the west range (19), with work upon the cloister arcades probably being the last part finished before the monks moved from Stocking in 1177 (20). It now seems clear that by this date work was under way on the church itself, but it cannot have been ready for occupation for several years; detailed examination of all the remains on site shows that it is likely that a temporary church served the monks whilst the present structure was built as an envelope around it (21).

After the Dissolution the monastic buildings and the church were stripped of all movable fittings and valuables, this process possibly being so thorough as to extend to the wholesale ransacking of funerary monuments and tombs (22). Deprived of its window glass and roofs the monastery must soon have

fallen prey to the activities of local stone robbers, whose actions would have hastened the natural process of decay; many monastic churches, at the Dissolution, were already in a dangerous and often tottering condition, the majority being already some three centuries old (23).

For nearly two hundred years after the dissolution of the abbey we have no information recording its fate until it was the subject of a drawing by the Buck brothers in 1721 (24). Unusually the view they took was from the north, and fails to show the great rose window in the west front of the church. What is shown is that the whole of the south wall of the south transept was still standing, and also possibly some of the arcades in the presbytery. Although a crude and somewhat distorted picture, it is nevertheless valuable information about the building. Several later drawings show the south transept south wall prior to its collapse, but these usually only give glimpses of it behind the west front. Two drawings are exceptions, however. The first, by Thomas Atkinson, was published in 1806 and shows the view from the south east (25). Like the Buck drawing it is somewhat distorted, but shows that the south wall had two tiers of windows. The second drawing, by the York artist Henry Cave and probably made around 1810, shows the interior of the south wall in great detail. Cave's drawing cannot be faulted, both for the accuracy with which the existing details are recorded and also in the proportions of the drawing itself; one is led to the conclusion that some form of drawing-aid such as a camera lucida was employed (26). Cave clearly shows the central stair turret which gave access to the upper parts of the building, and that there were two tiers of lancet windows, the upper of which formed part of an elaborate arcaded gallery in the gable wall, framed by the wall-rib of the barrel ceiling. It is also clear that when the western arcade was built the elaborate foliate capitals which are so prominent in the eastern arcade had been abandoned in favour of simple chalice types. This drawing, therefore, is invaluable in helping to determine the sequence of construction in the church and to elucidate the change in capital types. The main part of the south transept south wall collapsed during the 1820s and drawings made since that time show that this was the last major structural loss to the ruins. In the later nineteenth century the advent of photography gives us more accurate depictions of the buildings and of the repairs that were carried out in the late 1880s and early 1900s. These old photographs show just how deeply buried most of the ruins had become; very little of the monastic buildings were visible and the church had up to nearly three metres of debris in places (27).

Brief accounts published during the nineteenth century show that sporadic digging amongst the ruins occurred at this time, the most notable being the first recorded. Around 1820 Martin Stapylton, owner of the abbey and

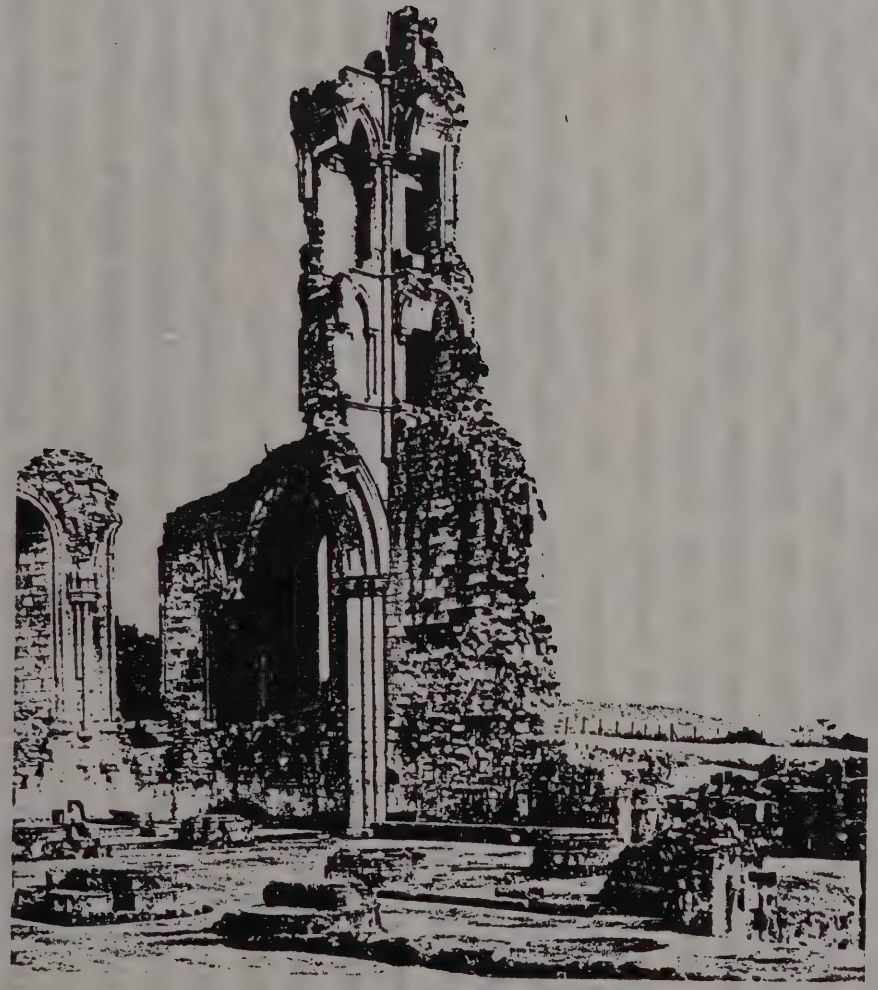


Plate 1: South Transept: elevation 1985
(Photo, Paul Barker)

Plate 2: South Transept: elevation c.1810
(York City Art Gallery, Henry Cave).

much of the original local monastic estate, instigated a search for the remains of Roger de Mowbray, founder of the abbey. Mowbray was alleged to have been buried in the chapter house, under an arch recess in its south wall. Stapylton set his workmen to dig for its site; initially they were too far south but eventually located the chapter house and unearthed a tomb cover in the north west corner of the room. Stapylton had this removed, together with the bones it covered, to his family home at Myton, where the bones were reinterred in the churchyard (28). He is also recorded as having found extensive areas of tile paving and a large altar-slab which he also removed to Myton; what is not recorded is that he systematically stripped the abbey of many tons of loose carved and plain stone which he had transported to Myton Hall, where it was used to form decorative edging to flower beds in the grounds of the Hall. This stonework has recently been the subject of a detailed survey by the author and this has made it possible to determine more accurately the extent of Stapylton's digging activities, Vault ribs from the parlour confirm the report that his workmen were at first digging south of the chapter house; vault ribs from the chapter house itself confirm his activity there. Evidence from the church is prolific and includes part of the respond capital of the east arcade of the north transept, vault ribs, bases, considerable parts of the screen which enclosed the presbytery, capitals from the nave and aisles, and corbels from the nave arcades. Obviously his excavations were widespread but in all probability quite haphazard. Edmund Sharpe's drawing of the south transept, published in 1848 (29), shows that several pier bases on the west side of the transept were then exposed and this is most likely the result of Stapylton's digging. The large altar slab which he removed to Myton Hall was subsequently given to Ampleforth Abbey in 1870 (30), by his grandson, Major Henry Stapylton. Also at Ampleforth is a small alabaster figurine depicting the Trinity; this too is said to originate from Byland and may well have been given by Major Stapylton. Subsequently both items have been incorporated into St. Benet's chapel in Ampleforth Abbey Church, and the altar, which because of its large size must have originally been the high altar of Byland, re-dedicated for its original use.

In 1857 two stone coffins were dug up at Byland in a close adjoining called Chapel Garth (see Plan 1), which in an early estate map, now at Ampleforth Abbey is shown as being in the area to the east of the monastic church beyond the boundary wall of the recognised cemetery. Whether these were found accidentally or were the product of systematic digging we cannot tell, but some grave-robbing on a large scale does seem to have taken place. At Ampleforth Abbey are five chalices said to have been robbed from graves at Byland during the nineteenth century; possibly they were given to the monks of Ampleforth by Major Stapylton along with

the altar slab, in which case they would be the product of Martin Stapylton's digging (31). Evidence of the removal of grave slabs is widespread; the late R. Gilyard-Beer, former Assistant Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, drew attention to abbatial tomb covers in the churches of Oswaldkirk, Kilburn and Brafferton, and suggested that they may have been dispersed from the Byland chapter house, possibly by Martin Stapylton (32); this seems unlikely, however, because the accounts of his digging mention only one grave slab, found in the north-west corner of the chapter house, and indicate that it and the bones beneath were carefully conveyed to Myton. Most likely earlier unrecorded digging was responsible for the robbing of these slabs from the chapter house. Recently the author found that two grave slabs had been re-used as covers over the old mill leat at Low Pasture Farm; possibly more lie buried under the farmyard. Compared to other abbeys, such as Rievaulx, where numerous grave slabs remain in the chapter house, cloister alley, church and galilee porch, it is clear that the many similar slabs which must have existed at Byland have almost totally disappeared (33). Apart from the robbing of tomb covers it is clear that the wholesale removal of stone from the ruins was continuous from the dissolution until the site passed into state guardianship; most of the local cottages, farms and barns contain abbey stone (34).

When the ruins were placed in the care of the state, the Office of Works commenced operations to clear the buildings of overburden and to consolidate the upstanding walls. First to be taken in hand was the church, and this was excavated during 1922 and 1923; so massive was the amount of spoil to be removed that a light railway was employed to carry it to the field south of the ruins, where it was tipped and spread (35). Although the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Sir Charles Peers, had overall control of the work, the daily running of the site was entrusted to a foreman who made regular reports to the head office in London. A large team of local men was employed, many of them reputedly war veterans, who would otherwise have had great difficulty finding work. At the time it was not policy to publish reports of excavations, and the facilities were simply not available to do so; steps were taken, however, to ensure that a record of finds was made and this has survived. The church was excavated using a box-grid plan, so that anything found within a box could be related back to it by reference to a box-grid number. This should have ensured that finds, such as carved stones, could be relocated to the parts of the church from which they had fallen. In practice this simple system broke down; its supervision was entrusted to the site foreman who was responsible for making the relevant entries in the finds book (36); he obviously did not have any special training, so the entries are far too general to enable us to identify individual stones (37). As the excavation progressed, the use of the box

numbers ceased and the descriptions become even more general. Each stone was tagged with a luggage label which gave more precise information, but due to damp and age most of these had become unreadable by the 1950s (38): thus most of the massive amount of information learned during the clearance was lost. Work continued on the site into the 1930s and most of the finds were eventually stored in a large hut sited south of the kitchen.

In 1952 work started upon the present museum building, to provide a permanent home for the many splendid carved capitals and corbels which had been found. It was many years before the building reached its present form, and the final display arrangements were different from those originally envisaged (39). Stones surplus to display were treated in two ways; all the smaller pieces were placed in a loft above the machinery room at the east end of the building, whilst larger and less interesting pieces were placed in a dump at the west side of the museum. In 1981 the author was allowed to strip the material in the dump and make a brief survey of its contents; from this exercise emerged results far in excess of those anticipated.

Of primary importance, and also the most spectacular result, was the discovery of the tracery from the great rose window of the west front of the church; sufficient of this survived to enable its design to be reconstructed (40). The window was similar to the rose window in the south transept of York Minster, and seems to have formed the model for that design. At it centre was a rosette of six lobed cusps around which were set twelve spokes and pointed arches, these in turn being encircled by twenty-four spokes and arches of trefoiled form. Peter Fergusson has recently dated the completion of the church to the early 1190s and this means that the Byland rose window is the earliest large rose window about which we have detailed knowledge in this country (41). Several other discoveries were made which, although not as spectacular, have greatly added to our knowledge of the church. In the west bays of the nave are column bases which have squared fronts to enable the tiered stalls of the lay-brothers' choir to stand against them. Just how these columns were treated above the top of the stalls had always been a mystery; fortunately in the dump were enough pieces of the upper parts to enable a reconstruction of the full pier form to be made, and it can now be stated that the column turned into a full group of eight shafts by the use of shaft bases set upon a coped wall-top (42). Amongst the dump material was a huge keystone carved with the outer orders of a double splayed arch, the soffit moulding being formed of separate stones. Because of its great size it was quickly realized that it could only have been a keystone from one of the arches supporting the central tower of the church. It shows conclusively that these arches were of pointed form, and it is remarkably complete considering that it must have fallen many metres when the tower collapsed. Subsequently

the author has located part of a similar keystone in the gardens at Myton Hall together with a keystone from the soffit moulding which fitted to it.

In 1984 Dr. Glyn Coppack drew the author's attention to a plan, made during the 1920s, which indicated that a considerable amount of stone from the excavations had been buried in a pit sited to the north of the church. The plan was annotated with a list of the material buried and this showed that it contained a quantity of bases, capitals and corbels. After discussions with the inspectorate it was decided to excavate and examine the buried material with a view to recording it in detail; therefore in late July 1985 work commenced upon the pit. Although the plan indicated a precise position, it rapidly became apparent that the actual pit was not the simple rectangle indicated but was in fact L-shaped; fortunately stones usually became visible as soon as the turf was lifted, so it was relatively easy to determine the limits of the buried material. Actually clearing out round the stones was a much more difficult and tiresome operation because they were tightly packed together and the filling material was largely composed of rubble stone. Work was later hampered by heavy rain which regularly filled the excavation with up to six inches of water. Much of the buried stone comprised keeled and circular shaftings from the columns of the church, but there was also a collection of capitals, bases, corbels, copings, vault-ribs, abaci, voussoirs, arch-springers gallery bases and hood-mouldings. Many of these were of types not previously seen, and provided much new information. Much of the material was in a very crisp condition because it had been buried since it had originally fallen from the church; tool marks showed up particularly well and it is clear that in the work upon the upper parts of the church claw-chisels were used extensively for finishing items such as bases, capitals and mouldings (43). One large block of stone appears to be from one of the external corners of the central tower, having raking rebates cut into it for the abutting roofs of the church, and it is important evidence for the existence of a central tower. Several stones were removed from the pit for further examination, all were photographed, and detailed measurements were taken where necessary. Some stones from the stone dump were transferred to the pit and then it was backfilled (44). A detailed plan showing the location of each stone in the pit has been prepared and this will enable any stone to be relocated without having to excavate the whole pit.

Work upon the site stone-work continued after the initial investigation of the pit, and involved the preparation of a catalogue of all the carved stone present on the site, sorting of the material in the dump and the inclusion within this record of the material at Myton Hall. The redundant

machinery-room at the east end of the museum block was racked out and a considerable quantity of material moved into storage there. The results of this exercise have progressed beyond the simple preparation of a catalogue, because wherever possible each stone has been looked at with its function and source in mind. This has enabled several important stones to be relocated to their original position and function in the buildings. The results have yet to be fully analysed, but information relating to the building sequences is accumulating and it will be possible eventually to publish a series of phased plans.

Byland is noted for its use of elaborate capitals of the waterleaf variety, but it is now clear that although there were a great number of these, there was also a large proportion of main capitals which employed volute, crocket and plain chalice forms and it is now becoming possible to ascertain the stylistic development of these (45). Equally, with the clarification of the types of capitals employed, it is proving possible to recognise the work of masons from the Byland workshop in other buildings within the region: in the parish churches of Helmsley, Kirkdale, and Middleton, and the Old Hall at Sinnington, evidence of their work survives. Equally in the larger buildings of St. Hilda's, Hartlepool, Tynemouth Priory, Old Malton Priory, Dundrennan Abbey, Furness Abbey, Jedburgh Abbey, and the infirmary cloister at Rievaulx, the influence of Byland can clearly be discerned. The nearest large related building, both in distance and design, is the now cathedral church of Ripon Minster. Recently several attempts to elucidate the connections between it and Byland have been made but all fail to agree upon which way influences were brought to bear, or on the comparative dating of the two buildings (46). Hopefully the author's recent work at Byland will help resolve the outstanding problems at both churches and lead to a better understanding of how they relate to each other.

In addition to recording the material at Byland and Myton the author has undertaken a survey of almost all the properties in the immediate locality to try and locate examples of stone taken from the abbey buildings. This has provided much new information which is presented at the end of this article in the form of an appendix, together with a plan of Wass village showing the general location of abbey stonework. In addition a keyed version of Henry Cave's drawing of the south transept is given to show how loose elements of this lost elevation can be recognised and relocated to the drawing.

Footnotes

1. Peter Fergusson: 'Byland Abbey: The South Transept Elevation', J.B.A.A. vol. 38 (1975) pp. 155-76.
   Architecture of Solitude, Twelfth Century Cistercian Abbeys in England (Princeton 1984).
2. The author is presently preparing a reconstruction study for English Heritage about the extended eastern arm at Fountains Abbey; this will be published in due course.
3. Not only was the plan much enlarged in comparison to earlier Cistercian churches in the country but also the height and proportions of the elevation. Expanded use of decorative motifs was not confined to the use of elaborately carved capitals, but extended to the use of painted decoration of leaf forms, and in some instances it appears that the columns of the main arcades were painted with these.
4. An illustration of the reconstructed south transept elevation, drawn by the author, is to be included in an article by Dr. C. Wilson to be published as part of a collection of papers upon Cistercian topics: Cistercian Art and Architecture in Britain, Eds. D. Park and C. Norton, Cambridge U.P. 1986.
5. Sir William Dugdale: Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol. V, pp. 343-54.
6. The decline in the numbers of lay-brothers started in the late thirteenth century and they seem to have virtually ceased to exist as a separate class of monk by the middle of the fourteenth century, after the ravages of the Black Death.
7. Dugdale; op. cit., gives details of the foundation history in the narrative of the third abbot Philip as told to him by the second abbot Roger.
8. Ryedale Historian Vol. 1, (1965), J. McDonnell and Dom R. Everest: Ryedale Historian Vol. 9, (1978), p. 56: cf. also J McDonnell, Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire (Borthwick Paper, no. 60, York, 1981), pp. 30-32.
9. A full series of detailed measurements were taken of the abbey buildings by the Office of Works surveyor during the 1920s, and these still survive.
10. It appears that although certain features of this area, such as the bridge and part of the tank, were recognised, there was no total excavation of the area.
11. Several years ago one of the capping slabs of this drain collapsed, and revealed that at least some sections of the drains are clear and in good condition.
12. The estate map is kept in the Ampleforth Abbey library, and probably dates from the eighteenth century.

13. Atkinson also shows remains of ruined buildings within the western part of the abbey complex, which have since vanished; these have been indicated upon the new plan of the water system. York Minster library has a copy of his plan.

14. In 1984 this area was the subject of extensive land drainage operations, which have finally dried the field out. It had remained subject to flooding and marshy right up to that time. Sub-soil test bores showed that most of the area was composed of very substantial peat deposits, in some parts sixteen feet thick.

15. The estate map shows that the dam was breached and out of use at the time it was made, but that the watercourse traversed across the dam area and drained into the mill-leat; this is shown on the new plan.

16. This can be dated by architectural details to a construction period spanning the years 1155-65.

17. We know the name of the secular mason who was probably in charge of the works upon the buildings, as one Magister Godwin Cementarius witnessed a deed relating to a grant to the abbey around 1170; the use of his secular title indicates that he was not a monk who would have signed using his monastic rank of monachus or conversus (Fergusson: Architecture of Solitude p. 72).

18. Such a split would have made sense because the huge scale upon which the new monastery was planned indicates that the Byland community was of very large size. Once the west range at Byland was finished it would be the most Sensible course to occupy it immediately, probably with a senior monk such as the cellarer to oversee its operation. The removal of 1177 may therefore refer only to the moving of the monachi or choir monks who formed a much smaller part of the community.

19. From the architectural details it seems clear that the east range preceded that of the south; both were the subject of later twelfth century remodelling.

20. A substantial number of capitals and bases have survived from the first cloister because they were re-used as corework in the walls of the second cloister and also two of the springers from their arcades which presumably had shared the same fate. Their architectural details, mainly capitals of simple waterleaf types, can be dated to around 1170-75.

21. The evidence relating to the presence of a temporary church is very complex but is substantial enough to show that it was located in the south transept arm of the church. The building sequence can be paralleled by that at Waverley Abbey as elucidated by Harold Brakspear in the building of the second church there. (H. Brakspear: Waverley Abbey, London 1905). A door at the south aisle of the church indicates that there may have been a temporary lay-brothers' church at the west end of the present church.

22. It seems to have been common practice to hack up the wooden choir stalls to provide fuel for the furnaces to melt the lead from the roofs and windows. We have no direct evidence that this was the case at Byland but it is likely to have occurred.
23. Accounts given by dissolution commissioners frequently describe monastic buildings as being in a state of 'great decaye'. At Rievaulx for instance the spire of the central tower had already crashed through the roof of the south transept of the church.
24. This drawing is shown in the Victoria County History, Yorkshire North Riding Vol. II, pp. 10-14.
25. This drawing is shown in Fergusson, 'South Transept Elevation', Plate IX.
26. This was the first pointed out by Paul Barker: unpublished M. Phil Thesis, 'Ripon Minster in the Twelfth Century', York University Centre for Medieval Studies.
27. Photographs showing the ruins before excavation appear in the Victoria County History. Vol. II facing p. 20.
28. Stapylton's activities are recorded in several notes which disagree upon the exact date that he started digging. The earliest account is E. Baines, History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York (1823) Vol. II, p. 422
29. E. Sharpe: Architectural Parallels (1848).
30. Ampleforth Journal Vol. 40 (1935) p. 187: for the trinity figure, Vol. 23 (1918), pp. 99-102. Major Stapylton also seems to have had the bones and tomb cover returned to the Byland Chapter house at this time; the slab has since been moved from the north-west corner where it was replaced, to the north-east corner.
31. Steps are presently being taken to try and have the authenticity of these chalices confirmed by experts from the British Museum, whose initial reaction to photographs of them was that some look to be of seventeenth century date.
32. R. Gilyard-Beer: Yorkshire Archeological Journal Vol. 55, 1983. 'Byland Abbey and the Grave of Roger de Mowbray'.
33. In his will one William Tiplady expressed his desire to be buried in the galilee porch at Byland.
34. Local residents, who remember the abbey before it passed into state guardianship, told the author that stone was being taken from the monastic buildings right up to 1921.
35. For comparative photographs of the church before and after excavation see, M.W. Thompson, Ruins, their Preservation and Display (1984) p. 39.
36. Both the finds book, the reports sent to London from it and the box grid excavation plans survive.
37. There are a few notable exceptions which has enabled some valuable information to be recovered.

38. Mr. R. Gilyard-Beer told the author about the tags, and said that when he examined the Byland stonework in 1960 they had become unreadable.

39. Drawings of the original plans still survive at the abbey.

40. It is intended to publish this in one of the national journals in the near future. The Byland rose is not the earliest large rose window for which some tracery survives, as I have recently identified an earlier one at Kirkstall Abbey.

41. Fergusson: Architecture of Solitude.

42. P. Barker: M. Phil thesis. Included in the illustrations is a reconstruction drawing of a typical pier.

43. The earliest instance that the author has been able to locate showing the use of the claw chisel, which leaves a distinctive rippled surface upon the finished stone, has been on some of the bases from the first cloister.

44. The stones which were transfered from the dump to the pit were either duplicated items or those which would be better preserved through burial.

45. Some major capital types are now only represented in the loose pieces and not in the upstanding remains of the buildings, a situation which has led to incorrect conclusions being drawn about the building by previous authors.

46. M.F. Hearn: 'Ripon Minster: the beginning of the Gothic Style in northern England'. Trans. American Philosophical Society, Vol. 73 (1983): P. Fergusson: Architecture of Solitude pp. 86-7. Dr. C. Wilson 'The Cistercians as Pioneers of Gothic', contained in Cistercian Art and Architecture in Britain, Eds. D. Park and C. Norton (Cambridge U.P. 1986): P. Barker: 'Ripon Minster', M. Phil Thesis, York U.
The problems of dating Ripon are manifest but recent work by Paul Barker concerning an undated grant by Archbishop Roger should resolve many of the problems which surround it, and help to clarify the relationship to the church at Byland.

Acknowledgements

The author's work at Byland has been a co-operative effort with Paul Barker, who worked jointly upon the examination of the stone dump in 1981 and the excavation of the pit in 1985. I have to thank Dr. Glyn Coppack and Mr. O.J. Weaver of the Commission for Historic Buildings and Monuments; and Dr. Christopher Wilson, for drawing my attention to the existence of the drawing by Henry Cave and for allowing me to read his article on 'Cistercians as Pioneers of Gothic' prior to its publication. Next the custodian of Byland, George Dobson, and the masons and staff of the H.B.M.C. Especial thanks to all the local people who allowed me to look around their gardens searching for Byland stone, and to the members of the Ampleforth community. Mr. and Mrs. L.A. Thomas kindly allowed me to record the stones in the grounds of their home, Myton Hall, which I wish to point out is not open to the general public. Readers are asked to respect the privacy of the owners of all properties listed in the appendix as having Byland stone in the gardens and buildings.

Appendix A.

Summary of stone from Byland Abbey found at local properties.

1. Low Pasture Farm

Scattered around the farm buildings are considerable fragments taken from the abbey church. At either side of the gate entrance are pieces of arch soffit mouldings and a lintel arch springer from the clerestory. Built into the wall in front of the house is a large capital probably from the clerestory and opposite the entrance door two half-buried tomb covers. Built into a large barn is another clerestory lintel whilst built into the opposite barn are several soffit mouldings, a gable finial, a waterleaf capital from a corner position and a piece of trefoil arch-moulding from the tracery of the rose window. Running under the house is the channel of the old mill leat. Upon the top of a nearby hill are the remains of an old barn which was built from many pieces of abbey stone. Amongst the recognisable stones are many broken arcade mouldings, pieces of shafting, fragments of main pier bases, small pieces of screen work. The author recently retrieved a keystone from one of the windows of the collation porch in the cloister, and this has been placed in store at the abbey. A cigarette packet found in the wall core has the date 1885 upon it, showing that the building must post-date this, probably it was built during the remodelling of the farm in 1893. The most spectacular find amongst the ruins of the barn was a pier base from the south arcade of the monk's choir, this had been re-used as a doorstep.

2. Brenks Farm

Virtually all the old buildings of the farm were swept away some years ago and used as hard-core filling in the footings of their replacements. One original building survives and this has a single foliate corbel built into its gable end.

3. Brook House

The garden contains several pieces of stone scattered about; outside the front door is a piece of perpendicular tracery. Other pieces include a vault rib from the nave and examples of soffit and other mouldings. Built into a bridge parapet is a single capital and a piece of hood moulding. Built into the internal kitchen wall is a rather strange chalice capital which has fillet decoration.

4. Mowbray House

Scattered about the garden are various moulded arch stones and pieces of shafting. One panel appears to be a voussoir decorated with simple leaf forms. In the corner of the garden were found remains of one of the bridges which are shown on Thomas Atkinson's plan. This bridge marks the site of the watercourse which provided water to flush the drain of the lay-brothers's reredorter.

5. Abbey Inn

In the overgrown garden are various small fragments of tracery and arch mouldings which once formed part of a rockery. Beneath the windows of the east wall of the inn are soffit mouldings from the main arcades and the crossing arches.

6. College Farm

In the garden of the house is a small monolithic lancet window head, a single chalice capital from a corner position and a single waterleaf capital. Also scattered about are a great number of staddle stones. Within the walls of a barn which abuts the gatehouse are remains of arches from the porter's lodge.

7. In the field to the south of the abbey there is a large monolithic lancet window head built into the bank of the stream. Much further down the field drainage operations unearthed a large piece of moulded window head; this is still lying in the field.

8. Abbey House

Conversion work on the barns several years ago revealed a number of stones including some single bases, single chalice capital, a gable finial, various arch mouldings, a finial of trilobe form and part of a main pier base from the lay brothers' choir. Also in evidence were a large number of base blocks from the clerestory wall-walk. Near the entrance gate is a small bridge across the stream, this contains several moulded stones and clerestory lintels; recently the author pulled a double respond base from out of the stream bed nearby. When the stream was cleared out recently many broken pieces of roofing tiles were revealed.

9. Wass Grange

Several single bases built into buildings and garden walls, and one chalice capital from a corner position.

Wass Village (see Plan 2).

A. Single bases built into the gable ends of the house, double respond base built into wall near gate. In the garden walls are several vault ribs from the church.

B. Pear Tree Cottage

Two strange rectangular bases decorated with circles and crosses, a single chalice capital from the top of the clerestory, a large stone carved with what appears to be the head of a bull but too damaged to be certain. Built into a rockery is part of the respond capital from the west arcade of the north transept; unfortunately this has been badly damaged.

C. Woodside

Built into the wall either side of the entrance gate until recently

Plan 2: Key-plan of Wass Village.

was a double base from the twelfth-century cloister arcade and a single base from the exterior of the clerestory.

D. Breckon-le-Dale

Loose in the paddock across the stream are a single base re-used as a boot scraper, part of a large chalice capital and a double cloister base.

E. Virginia Lodge

Single chalice capital built into wall in garden, eaves corbel set with later metalwork for use a plant hanger, a large gallery base which supported three shafts set around a square core; this can be identified as belonging to the top gable gallery shown in Henry Cave's drawing of the south transept.

F. St. Thomas's church

In the churchyard is a window sill robbed from the abbey.

G. The Coach House

Various fragments of mouldings scattered about the garden, including a piece of abacus moulding from a main pier capital.

H. Wombwell Arms

Built into the gable end of an outbuilding is a single base and one stone marked out with a design but never fully cut.

I. Lime Tree Cottage (built into garden wall)

Part of a large group of clerestory capitals, a corner broken off a large main arcade capital with one volute preserved and a large gallery base which supported two shafts set around a square core. The front shaft is supported upon a foliate capital. This is identical with another base at Myton Hall. It now seems likely that these and two similar bases still at the abbey came from the internal galleries of the central tower of the church.

J. Brook Cottage

Pieces of shafting used as garden borders.

K. Hunters Lodge

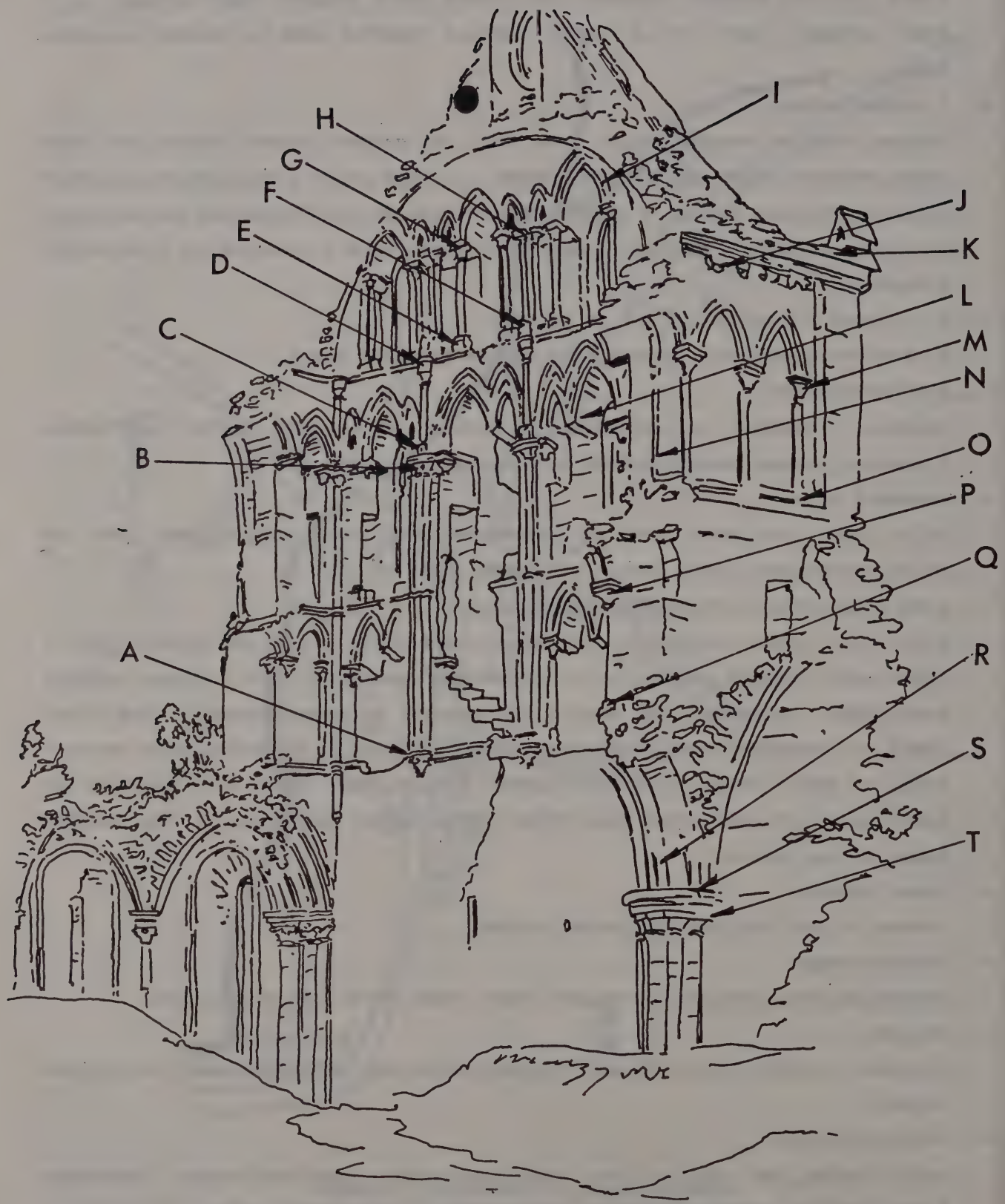
Garden walltops consist of moulded vault ribs and pieces of shafting.

L. New Row

In some of the front and rear garden walls are several pieces of moulded stone.

M. Dun Cow Cottage

Wall facing the end of New Row has several moulded stones including a very unusual arch springer of five orders. In the back garden is a single chalice capital from a corner position and a couple of arch mouldings.



Plan 3: South Transept: key to Appendix B

APPENDIX B

Stonework visible in the drawing by Henry Cave which can be identified as loose items.

A. Corbel example in stone dump.

B. Clerestory capital, three surviving, two in pit, one on museum porch, plus several fragmentary examples.

C. Single column base cut to fit into hood mouldings of clerestory arcading, has a curved front block matching curved abacus of capital below. One example in stone store.

D. Single capital with separate stringcourse abacus, one example on museum porch: four abacus sections, one on porch, three in stone dump.

E. Single clerestory base, many examples scattered about, two best examples on museum porch and in stone store.

F. Triple base, solid core, one example at Virginia Lodge, Wass.

G. Single clerestory capital, one on museum porch, one at Abbey House.

H. Triple chalice capital, three shafts set around solid core with lintel to rear wall combined. One example in stone dump.

I. Hood moulds, considerable number of pieces in pit, and springer sections.

J. Eaves corbel brackets: two in pit, one at Low Pasture Farm.

K. Parapet gabled coping, three sections in the pit.

L. Clerestory arcade springer/lintel, two at Low Pasture Farm.

M. Clerestory exterior chalice capitals, several examples on the museum porch.

N. Window jambs, several in pit.

O. Clerestory exterior bases, one in store, one on museum porch.

P. Triforium double chalice capital, one on museum porch.

Q. Triforium double base, one in store.

R. Arcade soffit mouldings, several in stone dump, in store, and at Low Pasture Farm.

S. Circular main arcade abacus moulding, two examples on museum porch.

T. Main arcade chalice capital with square individual impost blocks, similar capital on museum porch.

THE MEDIEVAL FREE CHAPEL OF APPLETON LE MOORS

by

Madge Allison

I have been concerned to trace the history of a medieval chapel at Appleton-le-Moors and of a chapel farm associated with it. Appleton church was built c.1870 and the Methodist chapel c.1839. There is no trace of any place of worship in Appleton in the 17th and 18th centuries. If there had been one it would surely have been mentioned in this period when records abound. Yet there was a chapel from very early times up until its last mention in 1616.

The references to the medieval free chapel are sometimes rather obscure. I hoped that by looking at the evidence more carefully it would be possible to discover something further of this village chapel and of the toft and croft associated with it. When was it built? Why was it built? How long did it last? What can it tell us about medieval Appleton-le-Moors?

Free Chapels

The term free chapel has not been an easy one to explain. What their exact status was is still not clear. Chantry Surveys simply says that they were "exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and were at first the king's private property." (1) The implication seems to be that they were thus free of the authority of the See. That they were the 'king's private property' may refer more to the important Royal free chapels, as at Windsor and Bowes, rather than to the more humble ones that we shall be discussing. Purvis in his Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms probably goes too far in describing the free chapel as a "small church which has not full parochial standing but is independent of any parish church and has its own rector." (2)

That these free chapels were early institutions is illustrated by a charter of c.1154 (3) when the "Prior of Kirkham grants to Peter de Ros permission to have a free chapel within the limits of his court of Pockley." The Prior of Kirkham held the advowson of the parish church of Helmsley and Peter de Ros held the Manor of Pockley. This charter illustrates that the free chapel was not a royal one and that they could be founded by different authorities, in this case by a lay manor lord.

Victoria County History (4) cites about a dozen of these free chapels as having existed in North Yorkshire in the medieval period. They seem generally to be located at some distance from the parish church in a neighbouring village and the implication seems to be that they were founded because of this distance. They differ from chapels of ease in that they seem to disappear as a result of the Reformation. Many are not sold until James I's reign when they may have suffered from James I's great need of money or have died out for other reasons. When one considers that even parish churches were at one

point at risk during the high tide of the Reformation it is not surprising that the smaller chapels succumbed. No doubt their independent status became a weakness in troubled times, when they lacked the protection of the episcopal see and full parochial standing. Indeed the parish churches were struggling to establish their own claims to land in a period of crisis by developing the record system of Terriers, and they too may have taken advantage of the position of the weaker chapels in making their own land claims. Lastingham church itself was certainly in difficulty according to the Royal Visitation of 1559 (5) when it is described as "in ruin and decay." A crucial blow to the free chapels that had had chantries founded in them must have been the loss of these endowments when chantries were dissolved.

One pattern that emerges from the rather sparse material for the North Riding is that free chapels are often linked with monasteries and local lords of the manor. These links may simply be a coincidence caused by insufficient information, and more study of the subject is needed. They may have developed because they presented a simpler form of institution, free of legal restrictions imposed by the episcopal see or bound up in the parochial system. From the evidence, they seem to have been founded often for reasons of convenience. We shall see examples of their foundation within the precincts of a castle and in a hospital as well as in villages. In each case they would have served a useful role in providing services conveniently close by. One wonders if they were self-supporting and who appointed the chaplain. The difficulty with discovering more about them may be due to the fact that they were probably early foundations from a period when records are few. We have an exception in the record surviving of Pockley free chapel c.1150 and we shall see in the next section that Appleton chapel was probably in existence by the end of the 12th century. Their foundation in the early part of the middle ages probably reflects post-conquest recovery in the North Riding. An increase in population would put pressure on the existing parochial system and an increase in prosperity would have made possible the establishing of the new 'free chapels'. The parish church would have jealously guarded its own property rights and not allowed them to be compromised. The chapels were permanently and separately endowed, thus independent of the parish church financially. We do not hear of free chapels being established in the North Riding in the later middle ages, but there were several founded in the West Riding, presumably where they met the demand from a rising population. These late ones also disappeared at the Reformation but some reappeared in the 17th and 18th centuries. (6) The later Middle Ages were certainly a flourishing period of religious dedications but they took the form of the new development of the 14th and 15th centuries, that is, the chantry. The chantry foundation is an endowment of income, whether of land or rents, etc. to support a chaplain to pray for the soul of the donor. It is thus self-supporting

and the appointment of the chaplain is usually prescribed by the donor and his successors or by a religious institution that he nominates. Free chapels may have functioned in a similar way. Indeed monasteries themselves were established in this way, as in the case of Rievaulx, founded by Walter L'Espec for the good of his soul and of his forefathers, with suitable lands necessary to sustain the foundation. In all three cases the foundations are probably made from the same powerful religious motive, but they are also an indication of a social and economic expansion. All three institutions would redound to the standing of the donor. The later chantries by their far greater numbers show the increased prosperity of the times, with a developing middle class often making the endowments. That the free chapels were an earlier institution than the chantries seems further evidenced by the fact that chantries were often founded in the free chapels, as at Pockley and Appleton.

The free chapels mentioned in Victoria County History for the North Riding are few and usually associated with monastic institutions. Although these chapels were "free" of the episcopal see they had to be under the jurisdiction of some religious authority. (7) It appears to have been usually a monastic one. The flourishing period of the monasteries was early and it may be at this period too when we can look for free chapel foundations. Some of the free chapels in our area are as follows:

1. At Barton, near Gilling, was the free chapel of St. Cuthbert, attached to the church of Stanwick, which was in the posession of St. Agatha's Abbey. (8)
2. The free chapel of Cleasby, described as "lately of Easby Abbey".(9)
3. St. Mary Magdelene, in the parish of Lastingham, which was held of St. Mary's Abbey.
4. The free chapel of Pockley, founded by permission of the Prior of Kirkham.
5. The free chapel of West Spittal in Semer Manor mentioned in 1539. (10)
6. The free chapel of Ancres, near Doncaster, which formed part of a hospital, run by Anchorite nuns. A 13th century Papal Bull conveys to it rights of sepulture and approves appointment of a chaplain. (11)

Any association of free chapels with monastic institutions in the 16th century would have been a disadvantage for the free chapels, further weakening their position in the conflict between state and religion.

The other major source of information on free chapels is Chantry Surveys. (12) Again the evidence presented in these surveys broadly supports their distinguishing feature of being "distant from the parish church." The preface to Chantry Surveys states that in 1545 Henry VIII was given power to dissolve all colleges, free chapels, chantries and hospitals. In the text however the distinction made between chantries and free chapels often seems blurred and the terms are interchanged. For example, the entry for Pockley reads:

> Chauntry of Pockley - ... of nomination of Earl of Rutland. Having no foundation. The chapel is distant over a mile.

Thus the heading of the entry refers to a chantry and then switches in the description to a chapel. It is also evident that the foundation charter of c.1154 has been forgotten and in fact no mention is made of its status as a free chapel. What is interesting to note is that the appointment to the living is still being made by the original founder's successor, who in the 1540s was the Earl of Rutland.

Another example that illustrates some of the characteristics that a free chapel might acquire is the "Church or Fre Chapell of St. Clement within the castle of Pontefract". It was founded by de Lacy in the time of William the Conqueror so it is a very early one, and founded by a lay lord. It had certain portions of tythes for maintenance and so "is clearly exempt from the paroch church." This is obviously an important free chapel in which the roles of parish church and free chapel overlaps.

There are only seven free chapels mentioned as such in Chantry Surveys in Yorkshire, though we cannot be sure that there were not more. They may simply not have been specifically mentioned, as in the case of Pockley. Some may not even have been discovered by Henry VIII's commissioners. P. Wenham in his Yorkshire Archaeological Journal article (13) cites several chantries in Richmond that had been concealed from the authorities and perhaps the same was true of some free chapels. In Richmond the only chantries that were at first revealed were those associated with monasteries, who had been paying the chantry priest's stipend. When the monasteries were dissolved in the 1530s their chantries came into the hands of the Crown too. The concealed chantries were being administered by the burgesses of Richmond and were only revealed when a disaffected chantry priest informed on them to the Crown much later. The case was not even resolved by the inquiry held in 1563 when eighteen local knights at York investigated the charges against the burgesses and let them off! It is an interesting case because it illustrates where the knights' sympathies lay and the growing feeling in the North that was leading up to the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569. It also further demonstrates the difficulty in precisely discovering just how and when some chantries (and by implication free chapels) were dissolved. They seem to have survived the main thrust of the Dissolution, but eventually succumbed as pressure increased and royal demands for money intensified.

What then were free chapels?

From these researches I draw the conclusion that the sense of the term "free" is a legal and ecclesiastical one, meaning not under the Bishop's rule. However they had to be under the authority of some religious body, and in North Yorkshire, this was usually monastic. They were mainly foundations of the early middle ages, some even dating from the Conquest. One of their chief characteristics is that they are distant from the parish church. Thus they served as convenient places of worship for the local lay lords, hospi-

tals, etc. who founded and endowed them. Their endowment ensured their financial independence.

However parish churches already had "chapels of ease", establishments of the official church, which sometimes became parish churches in their own right and which survived the Reformation. Why then were "free chapels" needed? In the early middle ages did the parish church not meet the demands of a rising population and religious spirit; were free chapels a status symbol for the local lord; did monastic institutions encourage the free chapels as part of a rival force to the established church? There are many unanswered questions and a wider study of the subject is needed.

Appleton Free Chapel

The earliest documentary evidence of a chapel in Appleton is contained in a rather obscure grant to Lastingham Church. This charter is undated but from a subsequent charter of c.1220 concerning the daughter of the donor and also from the witnesses involved, with names such as Gospatric, Osbert and Oberg, it appears to be late 12th century. Farrar gives a summary of the charter:

> Savary, lord of Appleton gave to the church of St. Mary of Lastingham and to William, parson of the same, a parcel of land in the field of Lastingham, 2 acres in the wood which the same William had assarted, ... land(?) of the chapel "del Holme", which Guue holds. (14)

Farrar's version tells us that some of the land is in Lastingham, but the chapel itslf is not located. There are three reasons for proposing that the chapel is in Appleton -

1. it is unlikely to be in Lastingham where the church is already located.
2. the person making the grant is Savary who is the principal tenant of St. Mary's Abbey in Appleton and it is likely that he is dealing with Appleton.
3. the "del Holme" description suggests a placename element. It is not a placename known to have any associations with Lastingham but it is one strongly linked to the south end of Appleton.

One of the medieval open fields of Appleton was called Holm Field and is located at the southern end of the village. It is a long sloping field stretching from the village street down to the River Seven, where presumably the land was subject to flooding, giving it the name 'holme'. Sited in the field is a natural spring called Marykeld, which would have been the important source of fresh water in a dry limestone village. Also located at the southern end of the village are two houses containing the placename element, called Holm Cottage and Rennyholme. Next to them is a very small parcel of land with a common right, called Rennyhole. on the Tithe Award of 1848. Opposite Rennyhole is the manor farm.

It is one classic village arrangement for church and manor to be near each other. It is possible then that the manor farm and chapel "del Holme" were sited at the southern end of the village. (We have already seen Peter de Ros, the local lord at Pockley, founding his free chapel "within his court"). We will see later in the Terrier of 1685 that Lastingham church has a 2 acre strip in the Holme field in Appleton. Since church holdings are often highly traditional fossilized ones, it is interesting to speculate that the Terrier is referring back to this difficult charter and its endowment of chapel land.

After this hazy beginning a precise reference of c.1220 is welcome when Savary's daughter, Ymana, refers to the chapel, 'giving it a habitation and a name'. She is selling the house next to it in Appleton and in so doing names the chapel as St. Mary Magdelene. (15) At this point it might be appropriate to speculate upon the founding of the chapel. We have already seen Savary granting "...land(?) of the chapel del Holme", a rather vague description of location. Is it because the land is only just being granted for it to be built? A generation later it is built and dedicated and as such his daughter refers to it. In each case the main landholders, the Savarys, are associated with it, owning the land it is on and the toft next to it. The Savarys were probably of an influential family with important religious connections. The name is an unusual one and it seems more than a coincidence that an Abbot of St. Mary's c.1150 was a Savary. This well-to-do family may be his kin, settled in one of the vills of St. Mary's Abbey. (16) If this is the case, they would be of a stature likely to found Appleton's chapel.

The dedication to St. Mary Magdelene would also fit in with this period as it was a popular early medieval dedication. However it may have had more ancient local associations in the Manor of Spaunton, as it is also the name of a well at the bottom of Spaunton Bank Foot. Most cases of well dedications are very early, probably dating back to their conversion from the pagan to the Christian in c.7th century. We have already cited Marykeld in Appleton. In Lastingham there are also St. Cedd and St. Chad, wells named after the 7th century Celtic missionaries there.

Discovering the actual name of the chapel was most useful because it clarified a puzzling reference. In 1506 Sir John Briges, priest, of Scarborough, in his will (17) left bequests to Lastingham church and 'Mawdlam' chapel in Appleton. This curious spelling must reflect the medieval pronunciation of St. M. Magdelene and could serve as a useful

pointer to any further corruption of the name in looking for placename clues. Briges is not known among the vicars of Lastingham, though there is a gap in the list of incumbents from 1494-1522. (18) He was buried in Scarborough. His bequest to Lastingham church is of 5/- and 8 wainscotts (wooden panelling or boarding for room walls) which sounds rather like the legacy of someone who has been personally acquainted with the place. His bequest of 3/4d to Appleton chapel shows the chapel to be active and probably associated with Lastingham church and the priest serving there.

Moving on to the Dissolution, it has sometimes been thought that the chapel at Appleton disappeared immediately. There has always been some confusion over this point because of a rather thorny entry in the Chantry Surveys of 1548. As will be seen, the entry was incorrect as to location, and this raised the possibility that the correct place was Appleton with its vague references to a chapel there. If it were Appleton, the inference from the entry would be that the chapel was in effect dissolved and its disappearance neatly explained. However, by examining the entry in relation to other relevant material it is possible to say that it has nothing to do with Appleton chapel.

The heading of the entry refers to the "Parish of Spaunton". It states that:

> "there is in the towne of Spaunton a stoke (a stock of sheep) of £22.7.2 and the increase thereof haithe been imployed in the finding of a preste in the church there...which some of money remainethe in thands of these persons following ...".(19)

There then follows a list of 28 names and the amounts they hold, which total the £22.7.2. These presumably are the people supporting the stoke. By comparing the list of names with the names appearing in the Dissolution Accounts of 1539, nine years earlier, one finds that only four of the names relate to Appleton and fifteen of the others to Lastingham, Spaunton and Hutton-le-Hole. It does thus appear that the stoke relates to the parish as a whole and not to Appleton alone. Indeed one cannot imagine the other three townships supporting a stoke for Appleton chapel.

The entry led to further confusion because there is no "parish of Spaunton" and there has never been a church there. Spaunton has always belonged to the parish of Lastingham, where the church is located. The list of names suggests a stoke supported by the whole parish. It would have grazed on the large unstinted moor known as Spaunton Moor. The Manor of Spaunton includes the same four townships as the "parish" and each had grazing rights on the 8000 acres moor.

It was probably this association of the stoke with the Manor of Spaunton that resulted in the Commissioners mistakenly naming the parish as Spaunton too. It may also explain the further error that occurred when Lastingham vicarage, which was also held of St. Mary's Abbey, was called Spaunton vicarage. (20) This resulted in the long-term consequences of its patronage remaining with the king and not the See of York. The Crown was still presenting in 1842. (21) It seems clear then that the entry in Chantry Surveys refers to a stoke of Spaunton Moor associated with Lastingham church and that Appleton chapel does not appear in Chantry Surveys.

Further evidence that the chapel was not dissolved by the Chantry Commissioners in 1548 is that bequests were still being made to it in 1555. William Haull, husbandman of Woodappleton, leaves in his will vi^{d}. towards the reparation of St. Mary Magdelene chapel. (22) The will is also interesting in that it follows the old formula of leaving... 'my soul to Almighty God, St. Mary and the Heavenly Hosts.' This use of the pre-Reformation form may simply be a brief return under the Catholic Queen Mary but it may also illustrate the general tendency of influences, trends and ideas out of the South to percolate North only gradually so that the old ways lingered much longer. The will is important from the point of view of the chapel as it suggests that it is still functioning in this period.

Appleton's chapel farm

What did seriously undermine the chapel and probably led to its demise is the subject of the next part. Again the evidence is not clear-cut, but I hope to show by careful examination that it is relevant to Appleton-le-Moors. This valuable reference of 1586 appears in a list of "Grants of Chantry and Monastic Lands." It states that there is:

> "a messuage or tenement with a curtilage and four les Flattes, called the Parson Flattes, of arable land, 20 acres, in the tenure of Brian Thorpe, in Appleton, given by three sisters for the celebration of mass, thrice a year in the chapel of St. Mary Magdelene, in Appleton."(23)

The difficulty that arises from this reference is caused by the editor's comment when he refers to the list of lands as being most interesting as often "it is the only instance of the mention of the existence of these chapels, as in the case of St. Mary Magdelene at Appleton Wiske." As seen in the original list the placename "Appleton" only is given and unfortunately Brown does not say why he ascribes it to Appleton Wiske. Brown says it is the only mention of this chapel that ever occurs at Appleton Wiske so he does not seem to be basing

his conclusion on any previous evidence of the chapel being there. (24) I would like to suggest that the chapel is in fact at Appleton-le-Moors for the following reasons:

Firstly, it seems more than mere coincidence that a chapel dedication to St. Mary Magdelene in a village called Appleton should fit in with the known facts of Appleton-le-Moors.

Secondly, the details described also fit in. We shall be looking in the next section at the Lastingham Terriers of the 17th and 18th centuries which describe a village farm site in Appleton-le-Moors with about 20 acres of Parsons Flatts.

Thirdly, the tenant mentioned bears one of the oldest family names in Appleton-le-Moors. The name occurs as early as the 13th century and then in the 16th century, as both a freeholder and a tenant. In the 17th century there are six families with this name and there is still one family of Thorpes down to the present day.

Assuming that the grant does relate to Appleton-le-Moors, it emerges that one of the substantial means of support for the chapel comes from the revenue of this farm and its fields. The reference also casts light on a village site in that this farm must be a pre-Reformation one, perhaps of the 14-15th centuries when chantry dedications were most popular.

Brown's article records finally that the farm and lands were sold in 1586 to Aubrey and Ratcliffe. This does present the difficulty that if they have been sold; how then do they appear in the hands of Lastingham church 100 years later in its Terriers? As we said earlier the Church developed its estate record system at this period to counter rival land claims and it would be nice, if it were ever possible to prove, that this is an instance of their successfully making the claim. There are examples of sales of chapel property to 16th century speculators which eventually are returned either to the church or to the previous owners. For example,

1. At Barton (nr. Gilling), the chapel was sold to Morrice and Phillips and then reconveyed to a local family who had held it.(25)
2. At Cleasby (nr. Gilling), the Prebend of Ripon was deprived of a chapel here at the Dissolution which was eventually sold to Morrice and Phillips. By the end of the 18th century Ripon Dean & Chapter had regained it. (26)

The loss of the farm revenue must have been a serious blow to the chapel. When one considers that Lastingham church was in a ruinous

state itself at this time, it would not be surprising if the parish church took precedence over the chapel. Whatever the explanation, the last reference to the chapel describes the sale of the 'Free chapel' in 1604 and finally the sale of the site only in 1616. (27)

We do not know how Lastingham church recovered the lands but this is what appears to have happened. This brings us to the Glebe Terriers (28) of Lastingham church, from which it becomes possible to identify the medieval farm holding.

The first Terrier of 1685 mentions:

A cottage and garth in Appleton with
2acres in Holme Field
6acres in South Ing Field
12acres called Parson Flatt

The second one in 1716 describes:
A garth only in Appleton called Priests Garth (1 rood)
3 closes called Flatt 20acres
1 close called Far Flatt 6acres

The third one in 1727 describes four Vicars Flatts.

Though there are only 30 years between the Terriers, this shows that enclosure has taken place between these dates. It is a useful additional bit of information for Appleton local history because there is no Parliamentary enclosure for Appleton. As a result it has not been possible to date enclosure exactly, but thanks to these Terriers and to a will of 1709 still describing open fields, we can now say that substantial enclosure took place between 1709-1716.

With these two Terriers we see that the messuage of 1585 has declined first to a cottage, then to a garth only. The description "Priest's garth" is interesting because it indicates that the revenue of the land was for the purpose of sustaining a priest. (29) This fits in with the chantry dedication, designed to support a chaplain. One example that illustrates this clearly is at Lartingham (30) (nr. Romaldkirk), when the free chapel here obtained a chantry in 1414. Its chaplain was granted a messuage called "Preste place" and eight marks rent, establishing a place for the chaplain to live and rents to support him. The placename "Priest's garth" refers then to the chaplain's messuage, as distinct from the chapel site itself which would have a placename such as chapel garth or green or hill. In many cases, housing for the chantry priest is located near the chapel, often adjacent, because the chantry chapel and priest's house were established at the same time. (31) In the case of Appleton, though, this is unlikely to be true because the chapel was already in existence long before the chantry endowment of a priest's house.

The last piece of evidence which locates the house site exactly

is the Tithe Award of 1848 (32), which with its map identifies it in Appleton as Vicar's Garth (1 rood) with its four fields called Flatts, still belonging to Lastingham church. By 1858 the church is at last going to part with it, an unusual step against highly traditional church policy. The reason is because it is located next to the Hall, and Mr. J. Shepherd who is about to build the new church, vicarage and school, as well as the Hall, is allowed to acquire it in exchange for a close behind the vicarage. Vicar's Garth thus became the coach house for the Hall, and today is converted into a private residence. It is the house plot in the village which has produced the most medieval pottery, both unglazed and green-glaze. There are about forty sherds of the 12-15th centuries, all casual gardening finds. (33) This relatively large number suggests a site of some importance

and gives support to the speculation that it was the residence of the chaplain(s) serving the chapel. As a final note on this possibility, mention should be made of the many 14th and 15th century references in St. Mary's Chartulary (34) to chaplains holding property in Appleton. There are some forty charters involving a maze of property exchanges and mentioning many clerics. Many of the charters are interrelated and may represent some kind of intricate abstract of title. One charter that recurs at different dates mentions a toft, croft and bovate, located on the West side of the street. (Vicar's Garth is also on the West side). It is held c.1350 by two chaplains and again in c.1390 by Simon of Woodappleton, chaplain, who grants it to John of Woodappleton and other clerics. These certainly sound like resident chaplains. Disentangling these complicated charters could provide an interesting subject for future study.

Where was the free chapel?

Finally, I would like to consider local tradition concerning the chapel and conclude with some speculation on possible sites for it. Some of the older village residents still say that Appleton used to have burial rights long before the present church was built, Whellan writes in 1859 concerning Appleton that:

> "The parish church is 2 miles distant. The schoolroom (of Appleton) is licensed by the Archbishop of York and fitted for public worship of 200 people. (35) Tradition relates that formerly there was here a parochial chapel, with burial ground attached, if so every trace is obliterated." (36)

This reference to a chapel is very probably to the one we have been discussing and a good example of a folk memory surviving several hundred years. As we have already said, it would not be referring to the recently-built Methodist chapel of c.1839, nor was there a record of any 17th or 18th century chapel in Appleton. The possiblity of the chapel possessing burial rights is an interesting one and would indicate the higher standing of the chapel. More importantly, it would increase the chances of identifying where it was actually located, since one could hope for either some placename evidence, or material evidence, such as the burials themselves. However so far there has been none. Going back beyond the Parish Registers the 15th and 16th century wills confirm again that burial was at Lastingham. It is possible that these few people prosperous enough to leave wills also desired to be buried at the more important parish church. There was certainly status attached to where you were buried in the middle ages. Nevertheless there is as yet no proof of a burial ground in Appleton.

There are several possible chapel sites in the village. The most likely site is at the south end of the village, near the Holme area, as discussed in an earlier section. A property deed of 1767 refers to a

"Chappel Garth", ½ acre, in which the Town Street is described as lying to the north. (37) Appleton is a one street village with all the houses lying east and west. The only small part of the village that could be described as having the street to the north is the Manor Farm area. (See map for proposed site). The Manor farmhouse was built in the second half of the 18th century although the barn attached to it is much earlier. The barn contains a full pair of crucks, fireplaces, and blocked-up doors and windows.

Another possible site is that of the present church at the north end of the village. Many examples are given in Victoria County History of the rebuilding of chapels and churches on previously consecrated ground, although it seems unlikely in this instance as the church was built in the 1860s and only a few years earlier Whellan writes that all trace of the chapel is obliterated.

The above speculations all merit further observation and it is hoped that perhaps in the future it will be possible to say more about them.

SUMMARY

I will now conclude with my principal findings:

1. Free chapels appear to have met a religious and social need in the early middle ages, before the development of the chantry. Although they were "free" of the episcopal see, they had to be under the jurisdiction of some religious authority, usually monastic. They were distant from the parish church and financially independent.
2. Appleton free chapel existed from about 1200-1600.
3. The main Appleton enclosure probably took place between 1709-16.
4. It seems likely that the chantry farm was at Appleton-le-Moors, and not at Appleton Wiske.
5. The existence of the chapel is established, and, although its exact location remains uncertain, it was probably at the south end of the village.

Footnotes

1. Yorkshire Chantry Surveys, Surtees Soc., 1892, I, p.ix.
2. J. Purvis, Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms, 1962, p.84.
3. Charters of Kirkham Priory, Bodl., Fairfax 7, f.55r. Translated by BJD Harrison.
4. Victoria County History (North Riding)(henceforward VCH), i, p.126,142, 149,154,159,160,183,289,312,383.
5. Royal Visitation of 1559, Surtees, Vol. 187, p.68, 1972.
6. My thanks to Dr. W.J. Shiels, Borthwick Insitute, for this information.
7. F. Lee, Glossary of Liturgical & Ecclesiastical Terms, p.121, 1877. I am grateful to Mr. B. Barr, Minster Librarian, for his assistance on this point.

8. VCH, op. cit., p.154.

9. Ibid., p.159.

10. Unpublished work by J. Rushton.

11. N. Smedley, "An Incised Stone from the Free Chapel of Ancres, Doncaster," Yorkshire Archaeological Journal (Y.A.J.), 1951, pp. 503-513.

12. Chantry Surveys, op. cit., I and II.

13. P. Wenham, Y.A.J., part 149-51, 1952-4.

14. Farrar, Early Yorkshire Charters I, Bigod Fee, p.478.
The name Guue has always been a bit of a puzzle. It may be an abbreviated form of the French Guillaume, modern Guy.

15. St. Mary Chartulary, York Dean and Chapter, MS xvi, A.1, f.203. Translated by BJD Harrison.

16. Another instance of this may be in the 14th century when -
John de Gilling was Abbot of St. Mary's, from 1303-1313 and
John de Gilling of Dweldappleton and Ellen, his wife, were principal landowners in Appleton c.1312.

17. Rowntree's Wills, i, Reference room, Scarborough Library.

18. Torre, E. Riding and Cleveland, York Dean & Chapter, p.235.

19. Yorkshire Chantry Surveys, Surtees, 1893, ii, p.512.

20. Letters Pat., Hen VIII, Mar 14th, 36th yr.

21. G. Lawton, Collections Relative to Dio. of York & Ripon, p.525, 1842.

22. Borthwick, Wills, vol. 15, fol.55. 'WOODAPPLETON' was a common name distinguishing Appleton-le-Moors.

23. W. Brown, "Grants of Chantry and Monastic Land in 1586," Yorkshire Arch. Society Record Series, vol. 20, p.358, 1909.

24. VCH says that there was a medieval chapel at Appleton Wiske, which is now the church there. It dates from the 12th century and is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin and not to St. Mary Magdalene.

25. VCH, op. cit., p.154.

26. Ibid., p.159.

27. Ibid., p.528.

28. North Yorkshire County Record Office (N.Y.C.R.O.).

29. K. Cameron, English Placenames, p.210.

30. VCH, op. cit., p.126.

31. G. Cook, Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels, p.51, 1947.

32. N.Y.C.R.O.

33. Pottery sherds found by Mrs. Pecskai who lives at Vicars Garth.

34. St. Mary Charters, op. cit., f. 358, 362. Trans. by Mr. B. Barr.

35. Dr. W. Shiels of the Borthwick confirmed that a license was granted in 1854 to hold services in the new schoolroom. The church was consecrated in 1866.

36. Whellan, History & Topography of York, vol. II, p.875, 1859.

37. N.Y.C.R.O.

My thanks to Jenny Collier for her help with the map and to John Rushton for his ever helpful questions.

Late - Eighteenth Century Coal Working at Baysdale Head, Cleveland.

R.H. Hayes and J.E. Hemingway

The Baysdale Valley

Baysdale is undoubtedly one of the most isolated of the dales in the moorlands of north-east Yorkshire. It drains almost due north off the crest of the moors at Stony Ridge (400m OD) for four kilometres to the site of Baysdale Abbey, where it swings east, ultimately to join Upper Eskdale. In its uppermost reaches the main stream, Grain Beck, which in part flows in a shale gorge, is fed by its highest tributary, Black Hagg Beck, not to be confused with Black Beck which joins it near Baysdale Farm (Fig. 1). Also draining from the south is Rowantree Beck, which rises at 410 m OD., east of Botn (Burton) Howes. Not only do the tributary valleys each narrow towards their sources to boulder-filled gulleys: the outfall of Grain Beck, augmented by many small streams to form Baysdale Beck, also narrowes from the broad fields near Baysdale Farm to a confined and rocky reach four kilometres in length, which supports little other than bracken and heather.

Today the road to Baysdale leaves the Stokesley - Kildale road at NZ 603092 and climbs the steep Park Nab to Juniper Gate (335m OD). From the narrow ridge it winds downhill to Baysdale Farm and the mediaeval bridge to the site of Baysdale Abbey, now covered with 17th and 19th Century buildings. The only farm in the steeply-sloping upper part of Baysdale is the ruined Grain House, with its byre, sheepfold and intakes; its lintel is dated 1818. Nearby on the east side of the beck, a large intake named Bull Park shows evidence on aerial photographs of yet earlier buildings.

The Coal Mines

In the uninhabited upper part of Baysdale, on the drier east slopes of Grain and Black Hagg Becks, several spoil heaps of shale and sandstone, debris from old coal workings, lie between 350m & 365m OD. Five 'Old Coal Pits' are located on the early six-inch edition of the Ordnance Survey maps (43 NE). Of these only one at NZ 62200335 can be precisely located today (Fig. 2). Here the top of a shaft, walled round to form a very stable structure, though now filled and water-logged, is oval in plan and 2.43m by 1.50m in diameter (Fig. 5). It is here referred to as Black Hagg Pit. A spoil heap 20m long and 8m wide in part surrounds it. It was apparently 106 ft. 6 ins. (32.5m) deep (Winch 1821), from the base of which a borehole penetrated a further 47 feet (14.3m). It was claimed (Fox-Strangways et. al. 1885) that no coal was met, though this may be doubted (see later).

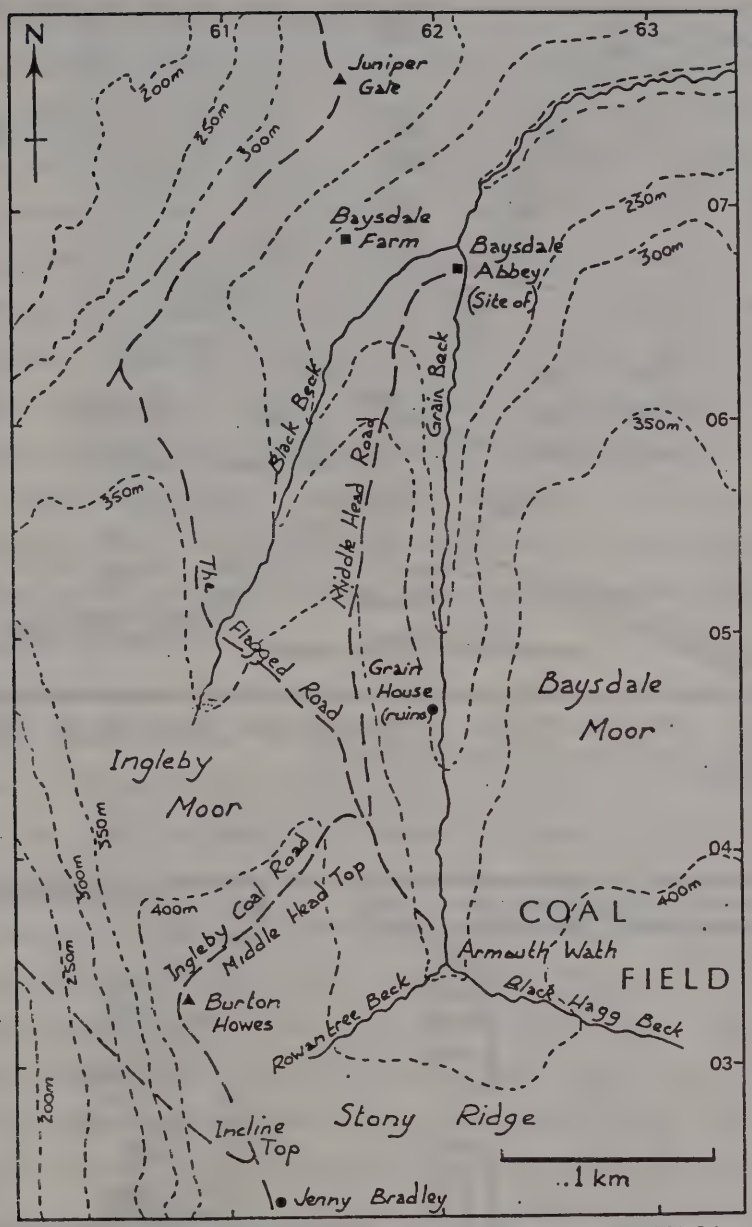


Fig. 1. Upper Baysdale, showing the location of the coalfield and the panniermens' tracks.

About 75m north of Armouth Wath (343m OD) a wooden bridge, of which the stone abutments survive, was built across Grain Beck and led from a collapsed adit on the east side to a loading bay by the stream side (Fig. 2). The site is marked by a scatter of fragments of bright coal of higher quality than is known to occur elsewhere in the Middle Jurassic coals of the region. It suggests that this coal may therefore have been in greater demand than that from the mines of Rudland Moor, Rosedale and Danby, and would therefore merit the long transport involved (cf Whitaker 1969).

At Armouth Wath the ruins of a row of four stone-built single-storey cottages stand on an elevated dry site. The late Rowland Close was told by an old man from Dundale Beck Farm, near Kildale, that his grandfather remembered colliers working at Black Hagg Pit about 1820-30 and who lived in these cottages. The cottages are now roofless and are

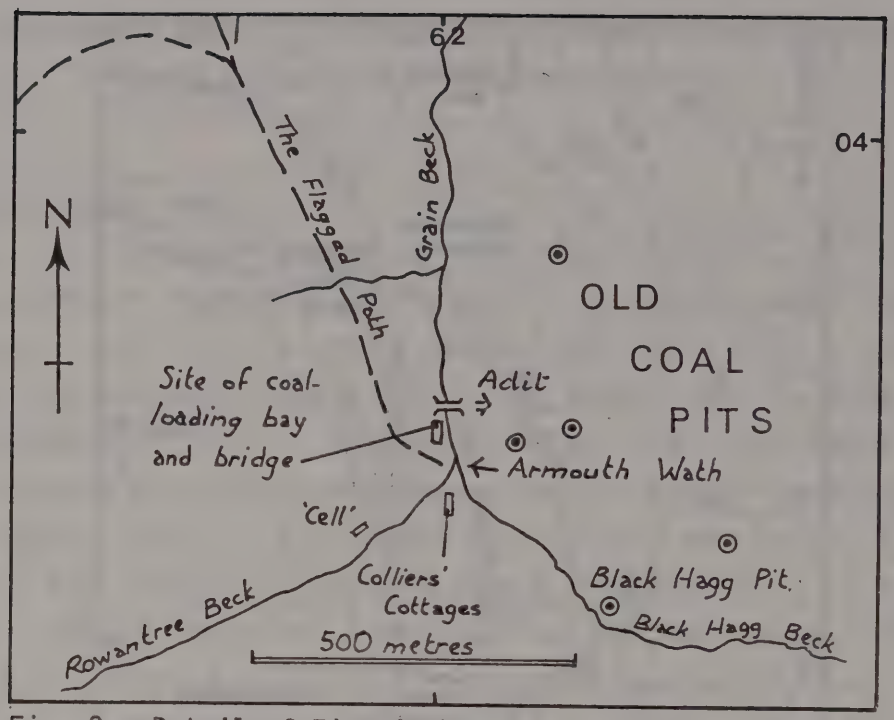


Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1 showing the location of the coalpits and associated features.

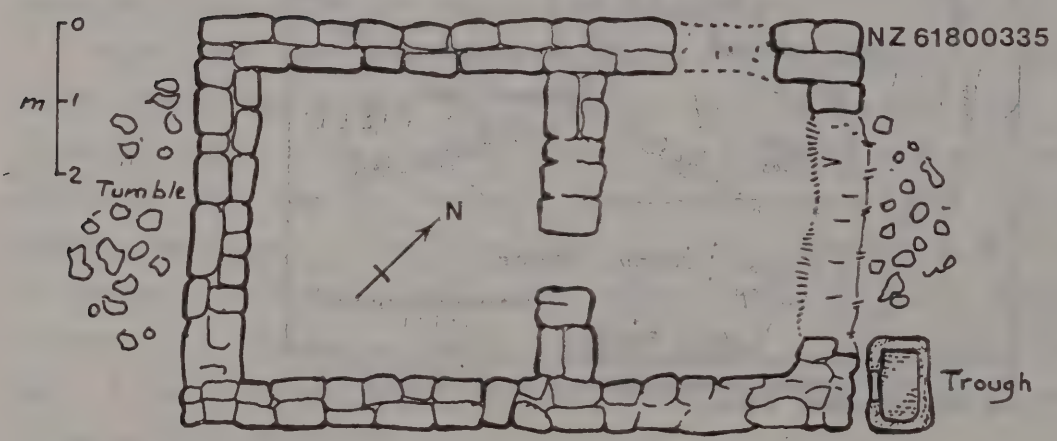


Fig. 3. The smithy or cell in Rowantree Gill.

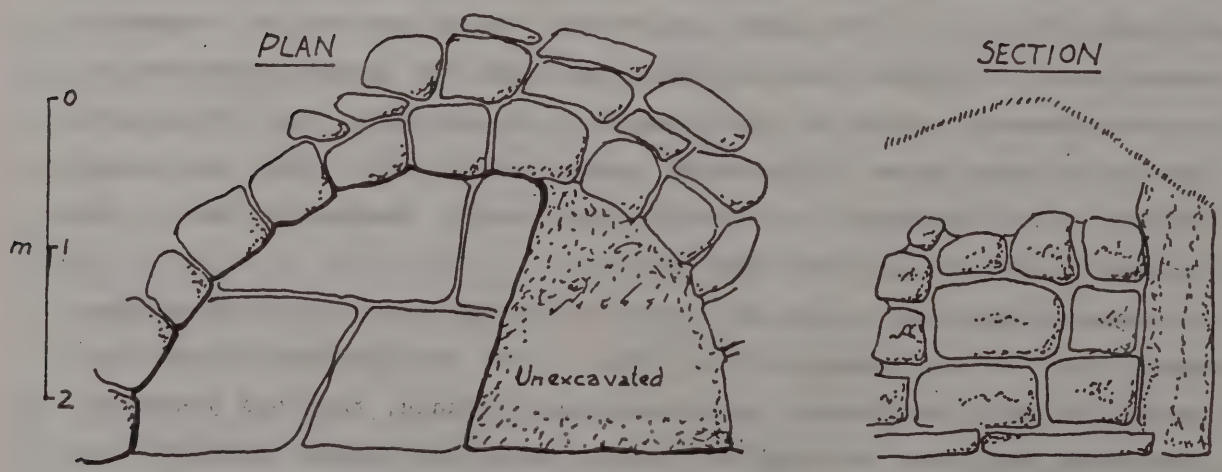


Fig. 4. Calcining hearth by Black Hagg Beck.

used as a sheep-fold and dipping stand (Fig. 7).

A few score metres upstream in Rowantree Gill lies a smaller ruin, originally well-built, 8.5 by 5.0m (Fig. 3). The walls are 0.5m thick and include some well-dressed stone, chamfered and with chevron broaching, and clearly different from the rest. The building was divided into two bays: a good stone trough rests outside at its east end.

This structure was reputed to have been a smithy connected with coal-mining, but no trace of slag, cinders or metal working was found by Douglas Smith and R.H.H. when the interior was partially cleared. Furthermore the quality of the stonework does not support such an interpretation. The building itself may however have been converted from an earlier use (? a cell) of monastic date relating to Baysdale Abbey. Alternatively its stones may have been re-used for secular building.

Coal Transport

Coal was transported from the Baysdale Head coalfield by pannier using one of at least three established routes, two of which crossed the high westerly ridge (Fig. 1). The Ingleby Coal Road to Ingleby Greenhow (125m OD) and adjacent villages climbed by Middle Head Top to Burton Howes (433m OD) and descended the formidable Cleveland escarpment by a route later followed by the long-abandoned incline railway for the transport of Rosedale ironstone (Hayes and Rutter 1974). A second track, known as the Flagged Road (a reference to the abundant rushes rather than to flagstones) joined the present road at Juniper Gate and descended by Park Nab to Kildale and beyond. The panniermen are known to have called at Dundale Beck Farm and exchanged coal for food and sometimes lodging before continuing to the north-west.

The third and easiest route lay northwards via Middle Heads Road and then eastwards into Upper Eskdale. There is however no direct road or trackway southwards to Farndale, although it is only 2.5 kilometres from Black Hagg Pit to Middle Heads. Possibly the pannier men travelled by the Ingleby Coal Road via the Incline Top, Jenny Bradley (a way-marker), to Bloworth, branching south-east into Farndale and south-west via Cockan Ridge into Bransdale.

An Ironstone Trial

Evidence of a minor additional venture, though unsuccessful, lies at the south-west end of the Black Hagg spoil heap. Here is part of a paved platform or hearth of local sandstone, 2m wide, with the lower course of a mortared surrounding wall standing up to 0.7m (Fig. 4). Here were many fragments of local coal, but no iron slag. The site has been regarded as a mediaeval smelting hearth (R. Close), or a coking hearth (J. Owen). Broken fragments of ironstone (siderite mudstone)

from the Eller Beck Formation, which would have been met in the shaft, litter the site: from their state of oxidation it is likely that a partial calcination, as was customary in contemporary iron-making, had been attempted, but was abandoned at an early stage.

No jet mining was attempted in Baysdale. This is remarkable as the Jet Rock crops out near Grain House: in addition extensive jet mining was carried out along the impressive escarpment of the Cleveland Hills, only two kilometres to the west.

Geology

Coal was systematically mined from the Middle Jurassic rocks of north-east Yorkshire from about 1750 (Young 1817, p. 817), though in Ankness near Bransdale mines were in operation before 1705 (Whitaker 1969). The seams were rarely more than 0.6m thick: they usually varied in thickness over short distances and some proved to be impersistent. Mining was active in the early 19th century at Blakey, Rudland, Danby, Fryup Head and elsewhere, although Baysdale was not mentioned as such in the early geological surveys (Young & Bird 1822). It is therefore remarkable that the logs of two 'sinkings' (i.e. shafts) and one borehole, all specifically sunk in search for coal in Baysdale, should have been published, (Winch 1821), whereas no comparable geological data were recorded from the more extensive adjacent coalfields. Winch's records were twice reprinted (Fox-Strangways et. al. 1885: Fox-Strangways 1892), both with the comment that 'no coal was met'. A certain reticence by the promoters of the project in the divulgence of information expensively obtained is however possible.

Of the three locations only Winch's 'No. 2 sinking' can now be identified. As is shown by the record of 'walling from the surface', still visible, (Fig. 5) and the recorded position of the Alum Shale, this is clearly the Black Hagg Pit, as here named (Fig. 2). Its log as recorded by Winch is as follows, the 75 foot unit being here summarized:-

No. 2 - Sinking

	ft	ins
Walling from surface	10	6
Freestone, post (sandstone) & metals (shales) - here summarised	75	0
Here coal was expected		
White freestone, Boring from the bottom of the pit	21	0
White freestone, mixed with blue whin (Dogger ironstone)	12	0
Rag stone (? Yeovilian)	20	0
Alum Shale	15	0
	153	6

Fig. 5. Black Hagg Pit infilled and waterlogged. 2.43 m wide.

Fig. 6. Calcining hearth by Black Hagg Beck.

Fig. 7. Former miners cottages by Rowantree Gill.

Winch's 'No 1 - Sinking', at present unlocated, was sunk to 106 ft. 6 ins. (32.46m), whereas 'No. 3 - Boring' "left off in a coarse white post (sandstone) with a large feeder of water" at 64 ft. 6 ins. depth (19.66m).

It was originally held that the Baysdale seam lay about 70 feet above the Dogger (Fox - Strangways 1892, p. 193). From the position of the adit near the loading bay (Fig. 2), as well as the depth of the No. 2 sinking into the Alum Shales, it would however appear that the seam (or one of the seams) worked was that lying about 5 - 20 feet above the Dogger. If so, some at least of the 'Old Coal Pits' of the Ordnance Survey maps may have been ventilation shafts rather than haulage shafts.

It may be noted that coal at this horizon was worked between Ravenscar and Whitby, where it also proved to be impersistent.

Conclusion

That coal-mining in upper Baysdale was not a casual, part-time undertaking, but a substantial, well-organised venture is indicated by the depths of the two recorded sinkings, each over 106 feet (32m) in depth, markedly deeper than was customary for bell-pitting. Additional drilling at the base of the Black Hagg shaft further supports the view that this was a well-financed project, as do the well-built stone cottages and shaft head. That mining continued for some years is indicated by the establishment of the pannier-men's tracks and the persistence of two of their names. The Ingleby Coal Road and the Flagged Road, both of which, from their location, could have had no other purpose but coal transport from Baysdale Head.

No documentary evidence relating to the date of the mining is known, although a notice of sale was published in the York Courant as follows:

"BASEDALE ABBEY. To be sold by auction by order of the Trustees of James Bradshaw Peirson Esq, 28 March 1803 at Garraways Coffee House, Change Alley, London..... MANOR and DEMESNE of BASEDALE ABBEY.....comprising a farm of 195 acres with an excellent house and buildings, together with Stokesley and Basedale Moors containing upwards of 3000 acres.....and a COALMINE supposed very considerable, at a small distance from the navigable River Tees, near its influx to the Ocean."

The publication of Winch's paper (1821) is of only little guide to the dates of ruining, as it may have been printed as a valuable geological record some years after active mining had ceased. Alternatively it may, as Fox - Strangways implies, mark a final attempt to extend the life of a coalfield which, although originally successful, had

proved of only limited lateral extent. If so, it would further support the opinion that the coal mining in Baysdale dates from the late eighteenth century until the early decades of the nineteenth. As such it would be approximately contemporary with those of the Duncombe coal-mining enterprises to the south (Whitaker 1969).

Acknowledgements

Warm thanks are accorded to the late Rowland Close of Kildale, a one-time resident in Baysdale, for valuable local information: to Douglas Smith of Hutton-le-Hole for assistance in the field: and to John Owen of Redcar for reference to the adit site and the order of sale.

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MORE ON RYEDALE QUAKERS

by

AVRIL E. WEBSTER

I should like to add additional information to the article by Mrs. Jean Davis on Hebdens and Flowers: Quakers of Ryedale" in Ryedale Historian No. 12 (1984), as I am currently researching the hamlet and township of South Holme. The farm Fersit House or Fercit House, the latter being the name I have found in the records, bought by Roger Hebden in 1651 and later owned by Hebden Flower, which Mrs. Davis could not locate, is still in existence today.

Although it has been altered since Roger Hebdens' time it still stands in the area Mrs. Davis described, one mile approximately from the original hamlet of South Holme and between Wath Beck and the dykes.

Sometime at the end of the last century its name changed from Fercit House to Peep-O-Day farm and it is still known as that by the locals, although the name has been changed again by its present owner and it appears as "Dixieland" on the modern Ordnance Survey Map. It was not marked on the Tithe Map of 1839/40 as this area was ex-monastic property and free from tithes, but it does appear on the 6 inch Ordnance Survey Map of 1853/54 1st. edition, sheet 106.

The Flower family lived at this farm from 1730 to 1868, according to the Land Tax and Census Returns for this area (1) when the first Hebden Flower died in 1840 the farm was still called The Fercit House Estate in his will (2).

The Flowers, also owned Starfits farm in Kirkdale (3), and it was here that in 1851 Hebden Flower, born at South Holme and son of the above Hebden, was living with his granddaughter Anne Bulmer aged 6 and his grandson Hebden Flower Lancaster (4), whilst his brother John was at the South Holme farm (5).

It was after the death of the two brothers Hebden and John Flower that Fercit House passed by will to the Bulmer family (6). Hebdens' son Isaac had died at South Holme in 1854 aged 36 (7), and his daughter Alice had married a Bulmer (8). The Bulmer family lived at Fercit House until the 1890s and they appear on the 1871 and 1881 Census. The name Henry Bulmer can still be seen etched on the old granary wall of this farm today.

In the garden of this farm are strange stones scattered around, and one that resembles a gravestone, but whether this marks the old burial ground adjoining Fercit House is a matter for conjecture. However we do know that Fercit House was once used as a Quaker Meeting place and was one of the earliest in Yorkshire. It was on a circuit consisting of Old Malton, Holme, Hovingham, Langton, Rillington and Settrington, and its members were Roger Hebden, T. Thompson R. Brown, P. Gibson, W. Johnson, W. Clark, T. Hopperton and Francis Clarkson (9).

At first these early Quakers met in each others' houses. A friend would set aside a room or a barn as a meeting place. There were many private meeting places and burial grounds before the Toleration Act of 1689, and many that were never registered as Meeting Houses, and this would seem to have been the case with Fercit House.

In 1739, in Archbishop Herrings' Visitation of Hovingham, it was stated "There is a meeting of Quakers at South Holme but the place in which they meet we believe to be unlicensed" (10).

There was another farm next to Fercit House, called in the deeds The South Holme farm. This farm is marked on the 1838/40 Tythe Map and was owned at this time by Lord Charles Headley, Lord of the Manor of Butterwick the tenant being William Sellers.

This farm was purchased by William Frank, a timber merchant of Helmsley in the 1890s (11), but by the turn of the century the farm buildings had fallen into disrepair, and it was sold in 1919 with the adjoining Fercit House, now called Peep-O-Day farm and also owned at this time by William Frank, to William Brown of Sunley Court Farm, Muscoates, as one lot "One messuage, eleven closes and a small plantation, 75 acres known as Peep-O-Day, and several closes and a parcel of land, 72 acres, formerly known as South Holme Farm, the house and buildings now demolished" (12). The remains of this farm can still be detected in the ploughed fields next to Peep-O-Day today.

The area where these two farms stood was once known as Crookholme, a name that has now disappeared except on old deeds. However there are references in the Hovingham Parish Registers to the Hebden and Flower families of Crookholme. The track that leads from South Holme hamlet to this area was once the main route from South Holme to Malton via Butterwick. In the North Riding Quarter Sessions for 1607 there is an account of one Robert Spaunton of South Holme being fined for "Making a pit in a Wathstead called Crookholme Wath whereby men could not pass this being the usual way to Malton" (13).

After the Ice Age Crookholme would have stood on the low-lying marshy land that once surrounded the glacial Lake Pickering. In the Malton Messenger for 1869 there is an account of Canon Greenwell finding a dug-out canoe on the farm of the late Mr. Hebden Flower. It was made from a log of wood 7ft. long and 3ft. diameter. The part hollowed out was 3ft. by 2ft. 6ins. and 1ft. 4ins. in depth (14). This site had already yielded to the Rev. Greenwell various stone axes and other implements, so Fercit House could well have stood on a prehistoric site.

References.

(1) North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton. Land Tax Returns 1782-

(2) N.Y.C.R.O. North Riding Register of Deeds 1855. II 79/132.

(3) N.Y.C.R.O. N.R.R.Deeds 1855. II 80/133.

(4) N.Y.C.R.O. 1851 Census Returns for Welburn Township, Kirkdale Parish.

(5) N.Y.C.R.O. 1851 Census. South Holme, Hovingham Parish.

(6) N.R.R.D. Vol. 50 138/51.

(7) Borthwick Institute Hov. P.R. Burials.

(8) N.Y.C.R.O. Parish Register Kirbymoorside. Marriages 1841.

(9) A copy of this deed and others relating to early Meeting places now deposite at the Brotherton Library - Leeds.

(10) Archbishop Herrings' Visitation Returns (1743) Yorkshire Archaeological Record Series (1928) Vol. II. page 57.

(11) N.R.R. Deeds Vol. 146 818/330.

(12) N.R.R. Deeds Vol. 302. 1078/406.

(13) Quarter Sessions Returns (1884) ed. J.C. Atkinson. North Riding Record Society Vol. II page 112.

(14) No trace of this boat now. It had been intended for the Yorkshire Philosophi Society but in 1869 was in the possession of C. Monkman, Malton.

THE FRANKS: A YEOMAN FAMILY OF HUTTON-LE-HOLE.

by

Bert Frank

Part I

The earliest reference so far discovered to the family of Frank of Hutton-le-Hole is to a Bernard Frankeis in the year 1190. He was one of the witnesses at the signing of a charter whereby William de Stuteville gave an assart (clearing) to one John de Ryton (1). To be asked to witness this important document must mean that Bernard Frank was a man of some stature in the village of Hutton only 105 years after the compiling of Domesday Book.

The question arises, where was this clearing, and another charter (2) suggests a possible location. About the same time in the twelfth century, Robert de Stuteville agreed that the monks of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and the men of Hutton could keep as much land as they had cleared in 'Hogtweit', but must clear no more land from the waste or common without his leave. The land here in dispute is situated at the south end of one of Hutton's three great arable fields, known as West Field. The 25-inch Ordnance Map marks a fence which is the southern boundary of this ancient enclosure; below this land, extending southwards, are several fields called 'Ridings'. This name usually means land that has been ridden or cleared of brushwood etc., and brought into cultivation at a later date than the original enclosure.

It is interesting to note that the document which records the enclosure of the Hutton common fields in 1761 (which will be discussed later in this account) gives that same fence special treatment by describing it as the 'Riding Hedge'. If more evidence is required to prove that it was an ancient boundary, we may note that it has many curves and angles in its length, compared with the eighteenth-century boundaries which run straight and parallel.

To put the matter beyond reasonable doubt that this was the land referred to in the grant witnessed by Bernard Frank in 1190, a later charter (3) records Abbot Robert of St. Mary's giving to Simon de Riton this Riding land of 52 acres for 13s. 4d. per annum. The modern map confirms that this was the acreage of the Riding fields. On the same ridge still going south are various parcels of land which have been enclosed from the common at some unknown date. They are still surrounded by common in its natural unenclosed state. Any of these could have been candidates for land disputes.

Paying for the Scottish Wars

Nearly a century and a half after the record of Bernard Frank in the Lay Subsidy lists of 1327, we find that Roger Frank paid a tax of 10d. There are only six people in Hutton making payments, and they subscribe

a total of 9s. 4d. This subsidy was probably to pay the expenses of the Scottish Wars. We cannot help but feel that this is a small amount of money for a whole village to pay. At the rate of 1/15 of the value of the payers' moveable goods, it only makes the total value to be £7. Perhaps plague had cut down the population, or maybe the Scots. About these times they made frequent raids into Yorkshire massacring and burning. With their thatched homes gone and their cattle driven away, the remaining villagers would be in a poor way to pay tax. At least Roger Frank had survived, and still owned 12s. 6d. worth of goods.

A Widow's gift to the Church

Some 119 years later, in 1446, there is a grant by Margaret Frank, a widow of Hutton, of all her rights and claims in one messuage and two bovates of land, to the monks of St. Mary's Abbey. Had her husband died of the plague, and were there no children to carry on the line? We do not know.

The end of the monastic period

When the royal commissioners made a survey of all St. Mary's Abbey property in 1539 (4), they recorded sixteen tenants in 'Hoton cum Dowthwayte', paying a total of £9 1s. 8d. in rents. Most of these men rented a 'tenement' and between two and six bovates of land; the two highest payers each held 'one Messuage with appurtenances', for 24s. and 20s. respectively. Next in scale of rent paid came Robert Frank, who paid 17s. 5d. for a tenement and eight bovates. He was probably the father of John Frank, whose will is dated 1587. By comparing the property held by the two of them, we can see how a freeholder could increase his wealth by buying up abbey lands after the Dissolution.

An Elizabethan will

Forty-eight years after the Dissolution we have much detail of John Frank, yeoman, of Hutton. If we had difficulty in the past finding information about the activities of the family, we have none now. John's will (5) is clear and detailed. It was made on the 21st December, 1587, and his burial is recorded in the Parish Church at Lastingham a week later. The text that follows has abbreviations expanded and a few spellings modernised where the sense demanded:

'In the name of God Amen. The xxith day of December Anno Dm. 1587. I John ffranke of Hutton in the parishe of Lastingham in the Countie of Yorke yoman sick of bodie but of good and perfect rememberance thanks be unto God do make and ordeyne this my testament conteyninge hearin my last will in manor and forme followinge. That is to say first and principallie I comend my soule into the handes of Almyghtie God my Maker and to Jesus Christ my Redemer and Saviour. And my bodie to be buried were yt shal

please God to appoynte for the same. And as touchinge the distribution of my landes and goode I give, will and bequiethe the same as followeth:

ffirst I will that my sonne Robte ffranke shall have my tenement and house and all landes closes and groundes thereunto belonginge in Hutton aforesaid wherein my Brother Willm. ffranke now dweleth accordinge to his lease to hym thereof, maid in as large manor as my brother Willm. nowe occupieth the same or heartofore haith occupied yt.

Item, I give will and bequiethe to my sonne John ffranke the tenement and house in Huton aforesaid with the appurtenances whatsoever wherin I now dwell, in such and in as large manor and forme in everie respect as I now occupie the same, to hym and to the heires maile of his bodie lawfullie begotten for ever. And I make the same John ffranke my sonne my heire to have the inheritance of my whole land after my decease, And yf my said sonne John ffranke shall dye or decease without heires maile of his bodie lawfullie begotten, then I will, give and bequiethe my said tenement with the appurtenances wherin I dwell to my sonne Goerge ffranke And to the heires maile of hym the said George for ever, And yf yt fortune my said sonne George shall dye or decease out of this transitarie lyfe without heires maile of his bodie lawfullie begotten, Then I will give and bequieth the same my tenemente with the appurtenances wherin I know dwell to Willm ffranke my sonne and to the heires maile of his bodie lawfullie to be begotten for ever, Any yf yt fortune my said sonne Willm shall dye or decease without heires maile of his bodie lawfullie begotten Then I will that the same my tenement with the appurtenances wherin I now dwell shall then remaine and come to my sonne Nycholas ffranke And to his heires and assignes for ever, And further also my will is that my houses and land in Huton shall never goe out of the name of frankes so long as any my said sonnes or any their heires maile shalbe alyve to inherite or occupie the same.

And further also my desyre and will is that my said sonnes Robte and John ffranke shalbe good to my other children to helpe them to bringinge up and placinge everie one as they shall stand need. And for takinge of their portions upon my said tenementes and farmes untill they shalbe better able to place them selves. And I will that Yawdworthe Close the Nabe Close and the Ste field (6) shalbe everie one of them for their severall termes of yeares that I have to come in the same, be and contynewe and remaine to be occupied with my farmes in Huton as they nowe do and heartofore have bene occupied for the better bringinge up of my children and increasinge of their portions.

Also my will is that the lease of the land and beast gates that I have of Richard Bebbie in Huton shall contynewe and be occupied with

my said tenement wherin I now dwell for all the terme for the better bringinge up of my children.

Item I give and bequieth to my welbeloved wyfe Elizabeth ffranke over and besydes her thirdes, And to my said sonne John, My Irone Bone ('bound') Wayne to be occupied betwene them duringe her lyfe And after her decease to remaine to my said sonne John.

Item I give to my sonne George ffranke in recompence of the tenne shillinges that was geven unto hym by my uncle Richard Dobson of Hapton one whyt whye stirke.

Item I give to my daughter Alice ffranke in lewe and further recompence of the tenne shilling that was geven to her by my said uncle Richard Dobson thirtene shillinges foure pence in money.

Item I give to my sonne Robte ffranke a gange of feloes to make hym a paire of wheelles with.

Item I give to my daughters child Elizabeth Burton a gymer lambe.

Item I give to Willm Robinson my brothers Abrahams sonne a ewe.

Item I give and bequieth to my said sonne John ffranke a yocke of my best oxen and all my yockes and teames to yoke six paire, with a cowpe and two plowes with coulters and sockes.

Item I give to my brother Thomas ffrankes three youngest children John, Isabell and Agnes ffranke to everie one of them a gimber lambe.

Item I give to my brother Willm ffrankes daughter called Katherine a gimber lambe.

Item I give and bequieth to the poore widowes in Huton that is to say Grace Paycocke, Alison Ducke and Elizabeth Daile to everie one of them foure pence.

Item I give and bequieth to my sonne Robte ffranke a Be hyve. The residue of all my goodes and cattalles whatsoever my dettes paid legacies performed and formalles discharged I fullie and wholie give and bequieth to my welbeloved wyfe Elizabeth ffranke, John ffranke, Willm ffranke, Nycholas ffranke, George ffranke and Alice ffranke my children equallie amongst them to be distributed. And I make the same Elizabeth my wyfe and the said John ffranke, Willm ffranke, Nycholas ffranke, George ffranke and Alice ffranke my children full and onelie executoures of this my last will and testament. Witnesses hearof hearunto speciallie requiered Abraham Robinson clarke and Robte ffranke.

The legacies

John left the principal part of his possessions to his two elder sons, but they had to look after the younger members of the family. He expresses his hope that his houses and lands will always remain in the ownership of his descendants as long as they remain to inherit and occupy them.

Indeed, his descendants still live in the village and still own houses and land. But there is no sure means of knowing if any of these houses was the homestead lived in by John Frank nearly four hundred years ago.

It seems that when anyone made a gift to one of his children, John used to take charge of that gift; evidently there was no nonsense about children spending their own money as they liked in those days.

Having thought of his family, John did not forget the poor. He left three poor widows of the village fourpence each (equivalent to a man's wages for a week).

The use of oxen

John Frank's will has given us several rare insights into the doings of the people of Hutton in Elizabethan times. That they were using oxen as draught animals there can be no doubt, since John gives to his son John a yoke of his best beasts and 'yokes and teams to yoke six pairs'. 'Best oxen' indicates that he has others as well. The second 'yoke' is, of course, the long wooden bar which rested on the oxen's necks, and the 'teams' are the chains which connect each pair of oxen to the one in front.

Wood for an ox-cart

The eldest son, Robert, is given wood so that he can make a pair of wheels, probably solid ones. These wheels would be for an ox-cart, or ox-coup or wain, an ancient vehicle which had only two wheels, but also had a pole which was attached to the centre of the ox-yoke. William Marshall, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says that in the early part of that century these vehicles were the principal conveyance for leading hay or corn, but were superseded by the four-wheeled wagon by his own time. The woods used to make wheels are ash, oak and elm, and they must be seasoned for a number of years, so the bequest was quite a valuable one.

The keeping of bees

Robert also received a bee-hive; this also would be a prized possession as honey was the only means of sweetening, and the wax had many uses. Today, many people bring their hives into this area in August in order that they may have heather honey. Four hundred years ago John Frank would often watch his bees return from the purple moors bringing him their rich store.

John as a shepherd

John would often be on the moor for another reason, for he kept sheep. In his will he gives away five gimmer (female) lambs and one mature ewe. The best gimmers are always kept as breeding sheep to maintain the quality of the flock.

Unfortunately we are not told the size of his whole flock. No mention is made of horses, pigs or poultry, though these must have been kept, and we hear nothing of seed corn, milling corn, butter and cheese. These valuable items must have gone straight to Robert and John, the principal inheritors. One beast, however, is mentioned - a white 'wye' or heifer under three years old.

The family line

It is clear that the Frank family were well established in Hutton-le-Hole at this date of 1587. There were three brothers all with families, and they themselves were elderly, judging by their children. John had seven, his elder daughter was married and had a child, but it would seem that none of his sons were married, for no children of theirs are mentioned. John refers to his brother Thomas's younger children, implying that he had others who were older. As to William, who is living on a farm owned by John, he has to give way to young Robert, but it is clear that he too had at least one child.

The family property

John left two farmsteads (which he owned) to his two elder sons, Robert and John junior, and another messuage with land which he held on lease from Richard Bebbie, to be used to help his younger sons, George, William and Nicholas, to make a living. The question we naturally ask is where these properties were.

Since the common fields of Hutton were not yet enclosed (enclosure will be discussed in the second part of this record), most farmsteads would consist of scattered strips in the great common fields. Even so, John in his will mentions two 'closes' - Yoadwath Close and Nab Close - which were not part of the open field system and had evidently been taken in from common or waste long before the official enclosure award. It is also likely that Oxclose, part of the Burran Field half a mile south of the village, had likewise begun to be parcelled out by mutual agreement. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards Franks held a separate farm here. There is also circumstantial evidence to suggest that the farm left to Robert Frank in 1587 was another compact 'fringe' holding - Lund House, north-east of the village, which does not figure in the 1761 enclosure award, and which, as its name implies, was an early 'intack' from the moor. Like Oxclose Farm, Lund House was later to continue for a long time in occupation by descendants of the Frank family.

(To be continued)

Footnotes

(1) Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. ix, p.105.

(2) Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. ix, pp.87-8. Cf Monastic Notes (YASRS), vol. 1, p.232.

(3) York Dean and Chapter MS xvi A1, ff.174-5.

(4) Dissolution Survey, PRO SC6 Henry VIII 4595. I am indebted to Mrs. M. Allison for providing these details.

(5) Diocesan Archives (Borthwick Institute, York) PR vol. 23, f. 651.

(6) Yoadwath Close lies south of Hutton, by the mill on the R. Dove; Nab Close is north-west of the village; 'Ste Field' may be Southet Field - cf. plan to accompany the second part of this article.

Sandra Brown: The Medieval Courts of the York Minster Peculiar.
Borthwick Papers No. 66. St. Anthony's Press, University of York, 1984

1846 is probably best known in England as the year when the Corn Laws were abolished, and the philosophy of economic Protection began to disintegrate. But it was also the year when another form of protection disappeared: the 'spiritual' protection of many of our ancient ecclesiastical courts. By an Order in Council "all peculiar, archidiaconal and consistory courts" were abolished, and their mission of safeguarding the moral order of Christendom terminated. Dr. Brown's booklet offers a study of one group of 'peculiar' courts: those which were controlled by the dean and chapter of York Minster. It is a complex, difficult subject, much burdened with legal technicality, but the author's analysis, derived from her York D.Phil. thesis, is lucid and scholarly, and illuminates an area of social history neglected by other historians. She bases her work on material in the Borthwick Institute of York University and the York Minster Library, relating to the 14th and 15th centuries.

At that time every diocese in England was covered by a network of courts which, through active intervention in the lives of clergy and people, sought to enforce the laws of the Christian Church. There were three overlapping levels of court: the bishop's, the archdeacon's and the cathedral chapter's. Why, it might be asked, should this last type of court have come into existence at all? The answer is to be found in a very medieval notion: that ownership of land automatically involved jurisdiction over its inhabitants. The chapter of York Minster, as distinct from the archbishop, was one of the richest chapters in the country. It possessed lands and churches in nearly every part of the diocese, and distributed most of them among the individual prebendary canons. The parishioners of these churches fell, therefore, under the jurisdict ion of the canons; and that jurisdiction was exercised through special courts.

Dr Brown has identified two types of 'peculiar' court in the later part of the Middle Ages. There was a central court in York itself, directly under the dean and chapter: the 'court of audience'. And there were local courts around the diocese under an individual prebendary: for example, John Lepington controlled the court in Ampleforth in 1416, and bore the somewhat sinister title of 'custodian of the spirituality'; William Halomshire, vicar of the prebendal church of Bugthorpe, acted as custodian there in 1491. The author examines the procedure and the officials of these various courts, as well as the relations between them, but it is the cases they dealt with, and the punishments they imposed, which will probably attract the general reader most.

The main capitular court held its very frequent sessions in the

north transept of York Minster. It handled cases of sexual delinquency, perjury, defamation, Sunday trading and a wide range of testamentary and matrimonial matters. The local courts of the chapter, sitting usually in the parish church, exercised a similar broad jurisdiction over moral and 'civil' matters. Spiritual punishment or 'correction' extended from the severity of excommunication (for failing to do your duty as an executor of a will) to mere corporal penances: the culprit, for example, could be flogged around the parish church and market place; he could be made to walk in procession carrying a candle, which he would be required to offer at a particular altar in the church; he might even be despatched on a triple pilgrimage to the shrines of St John of Beverley, St. John of Bridlington and St. William of York, "offering at each place 40d. and bringing back testimonial letters that he had done so". These penances, however, could be redeemed by money payments of between 11d and 40d. More dramatically perhaps, sinful lovers found guilty of fornication not only had penances imposed upon them, but "could be required to adjure the crime sub pene nubendi: in other words, the reward of any further fornication would be instant marriage, fully valid - without the ceremony. Dr. Brown notes the high proportion of vicars-choral appearing before the capitular courts: in these cases deprivation of their stalls in the choir seems to have been the customary punishment. Standing back from all the evidence the author has amassed, from all the names and places, all the cases and penances, all the courts and officials, the modern reader may well feel amazement, even horror, that the gospel of Jesus Christ could ever have given rise to such a monstrous creation. Or has the liberalism and permissiveness of our own age sapped our stamina and made us soft?

However, we cannot but admire the stamina and skill of Dr. Brown in piecing together the jurisdictional framework of the York Minster peculiar over a period of two centuries. Difficult though the material is, it is handled with great clarity and conciseness. There are two small criticisms I would make. It is very helpful to have a map showing the locations of the capitular courts, but the hand-written place-names are too congested and not easily legible. Further, I feel the reader needs a little more help with technical phrases like capitular farms, apparitors, succentor of the vicars - and granting the apostles! A glossary is needed. But I rejoice that the proof-reader overlooked the misprint on page 27: "cure of soles" is well worth retaining. How much happier a phrase than, say "heeling ministry".

W.A. Davidson

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